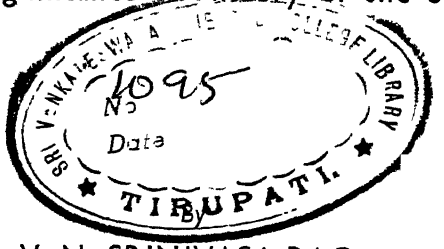
TIRUPATI

SRI VENKATESVARA-BALAJI

(Origin, Significance & History of the Shrine)



By

V. N. SRINIVASA RAO

Tahsildar, Chittoor Dt. and
Asst. Commissioner, Hindu Religious Endowments (Retired)

With a Foreword by

Rao Bahadur Sri N. CHANDRASEKHARA AIYAR, B.A., B L.
(Retd.) Judge, High Court of Judicature, Madras.

(*Copyright reserved by the Author*)

Published by

UMADEVAN & CO

MADRAS

1949

For the statements made and the views expressed the author alone is responsible.

Printed at The Jupiter Press Ltd., 16, Sembudoss Street, G. T., M as.

FOREWORD

This is a very readable book well-written and full of information about Tirupati, and the sacred hill called Tirumalai, over which presides the Lord Sri Venkatesvara. The author Mr. V. N. Srinivasa Rao deserves to be congratulated on the scholarship and powers of research he has brought to bear on this work.

In dealing with the question whether the deity was Vishnu or Siva originally, we are on debatable ground. Mr. Srinivasa Rao controverts vigorously the theory propounded by Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar in his history of Tirupati to the effect that the image was a Vaishnavite one right through. The correct identification of Ghattideva, in whose time it is alleged that the Siva-Vishnu controversy about the Tirumalai shrine was finally settled, receives much attention at the author's hands who is convinced that he was not a Yadava Chief who had any sway over the Tirupati region as Dr. Krishnaswami Aiyangar holds, but that he was a minor chieftain in the Nellore District. Mr. Srinivasa Rao gives several reasons why the idol was probably a Saivite one at the commencement when the shrine was founded. Some of them are at least as convincing as those advanced to support the opposite view. One can add two more also. From time immemorial, the deity has been famous throughout India as Sri Balaji, which is the special name of God Subrahmanya. The sacred tank on the hill is known as the *Svami* Pushkarini and by the word 'Svami' is generally meant *Kumarasvami.*

Of what avail are all these controversies. The Kularnava Tantra furnishes a definite negative answer to the question. Sectarian bigots may revel in them but not they who think of God as One, with several names and forms. God Venkatesvara on the Tirumalai Hill is common to all worshippers of the Hindu faith, be they Vaishnavites or Saivites. He sheds His grace on all His devotees equally and impartially. He is the प्रत्यक्षदेवोत्तम in this Kali Age, and in His presence, all differences and controversies of faith and ritual lose their significance altogether and are hushed. True devotion transcends barriers of creed, sect, and class. It has been well said that while it is good to be born

in a church, it is bad to die in it. As introspection increases, as *bhakti* progresses, and as the realisation of Truth comes over a man gradually, he feels amused at the bitterness which even well-read people display in the discussion of sectarian subjects, often losing balance of mind and a sense of true proportion of real values. If God has a form—but mystics and sages of all religions say he has none—does it matter really if He appears to you with a strident *namam* in his forehead, or three parallel and horizontal lines of *viboothi*, or without any mark whatsoever?

To say all this is not to belittle the commendable efforts of Mr. Srinivasa Rao, whose theme is exactly the same--namely that Lord Venkatesvara represents the Absolute and is the God of all Hindus equally irrespective of divisions and sects and castes and creeds. The chapters of the work dealing with the puranic stories about Lord Sri Venkatesvara and Sri Padmavati and the esoteric significance of the sacred hill and the shrine are of special interest and those who read them will undoubtedly increase their stock of knowledge. What is known as the Sawal-E-Jawab, a memoir of questions put to the *sthanikas* of the temple in 1801 by Mr. Stratton, the then Collector of the Western Palayams, and the answers given by them concerning the origin, history and administration of the temple, has been fully extracted in this work and contains valuable information, throwing a flood of light on many of the questions discussed. The author has laid the public under a deep debt of obligation to him by bringing out a book of this kind, carefully prepared and well-documented. It is a book that must find a place in the library of every student of Hindu theology and every sincere bhakta of God.

Madras,
22—12—'48. N. CHANDRASEKHARA AIYAR.

PREFACE

There are few families in South India with a history of sickness or grave anxiety who have not made vows to Tirupati Venkatachalapati and have not had thrilling experiences of relief and help or awe-inspiring and exacting reminders of unfulfilled vows. Among the few families that do not visit the temple are those who are known as "Tirupati Dongalu" or Tirupati thieves, so called, because their ancestors, having made vows to the God and not having fulfilled them, have for ever been debarred from visiting the temple.

An enterprising Parapatyadar could easily benefit himself and also serve the public, by collecting true stories of the miracles worked by the God, from the pilgrims who daily pour their offerings into the temple Hundi. If the West had anything equal to it which could draw such immense crowds from all parts of the country, day-in and day-out, in fair weather and foul, in times of war as in peace, regardless of distance and discomforts of travel, through all the long centuries, it is inconceivable to what wonderful use they would have put the wealth of the emotional appeal contributed by such an ancient shrine. At least, a special library of literature would have sprung round it and the holy precincts would have been converted into a very heaven on earth. Unfortunately we cannot even claim to possess an authoritative and impartial history of the shrine and the surroundings of the temple are now anything but holy.

We do lip service to our cultural heritage and talk of our mission of spiritualising the materialistic West, but have very little to show concretely that we actually practise the truths that we profess to believe in. The West with true humility admits that its civilisation is materialistic but practises the divine virtue of reverence for all forms of life and judges its ascent in the scale of civilisation by the amount of happiness it is able to ensure for the common man, though within the narrow limits of its own nationality.

Even our temples, designed by our sages to proclaim the truths realized by them personally and to promote the development of God-Consciousness, have been left in sole charge of priests who

have forgotten the fundamental tenets of the institutions which they guard and make a fetish of the idols which are only symbols intended to aid worship. Their contribution to the shrines, where they preside, is a crop of civil suits regarding the length, breadth and shape of the face-mark that should adorn the image and such other trivial matters, which render the task of the apologist for our, so called, religious practices greatly embarrassing. Hereditary office, intended to ensure a succession of Gurus (Gurukkals) trained and disciplined in Yoga and God-Consciousness from early childhood, has, by the security of office it ensures, produced a breed of priests with vested interests, who befoul the sacred atmosphere of the temples with intolerance, bigotry, hatred, sectarianism, and hypocrisy. Our present Governments cast greedy eyes on the rich income of temples, like Tirupati, as resources to be tapped for miscellaneous objects which they cannot conveniently provide for in the usual budgets. They show no imagination to utilise the immense power of shrines like Tirupati for the moral re-armament of the Hindu society. The last two wars have rudely shaken the ethical foundations of our society and the old codes of moral values and personal conduct, do not govern the present trends of thought among the masses. A National Government should take stock of the situation and urgently endeavour to arrest this degeneration, and to restore faith in God and pride in our spiritual heritage by canalising the immense power which our temples still wield on the public mind.

As the Vedanta satisfies the needs of a Universal Religion, Sri Venkatesvara is a concrete representation of the one God, Supreme Brahman or the Absolute, without name or form or sect or creed. This temple is unique in the whole of India and has been a place of worship common to all sects and creeds of Hindus for centuries together and has been a powerful unifying force by its non-sectarian appeal to us to cast out Ahankara or 'I am-ness' and discarding desire and fear to lead our lives as free men in fellowship with God. The world has still a good future, if it would but listen to the message of Sri Venkatesvara.

The name Venkatesvara merely means the Lord of Vengada, which denotes the hill and also the human body, which is con-

tinuously scorched by animal heat. Thus the God has no name. He has no specific form, but all manifested forms, such as Shakti, Siva, Vishnu and Brahma are His forms. The whole range of the Eastern Ghats from Tirupati to Guntur was known to the ancients as Sri Parvata but the portion of the range within the limits of the present Kurnool and Guntur Districts was called by the Telugu speaking people of the locality as 'Nallamalais' or 'Black Mountains', while the portion within the limits of a part of the present Cuddapah District and the entire Chittoor District was called by the local Tamil residents as Vengadam or White mountain, on account of the buff colouring of its cliff-faces, to distinguish it from Nallamalais. Venkatachalamahatmyam also refers to the Tirupati range as 'Srisailam' or Sri Parvata, the mountain of the Divine Mother. She has, in Her ample bosom, room enough for all. It is on record that even Europeans and Muhammadans, though prohibited from ascending the hills, felt no repugnance in making vows and sending offerings to the shrine.

The following studies on the origin, significance, early history and administration of the temple, undertaken as a hobby were intended to accompany my translation of a Telugu account of the temple, in the form of questions and answers, Sawal-E-Jawab, contributed to the Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society; but as it would take a long time for the entire matter to appear in a quarterly, I was prevailed upon by my friend Sri Ponneri Sriramulu Chettiar of Madras, a philanthropist well known for his liberal patronage of Education and Religion and who is a great devotee of Sri Venkatesvara, to publish them in book form and he has kindly undertaken to meet the cost of printing and publication. I cannot adequately express my indebtedness to him for encouraging my humble effort and for enabling me to place the materials gathered by me before a wider circle of readers. Personally, I class this offer, among the minor miracles worked by Sri Venkatesvara, to confirm my faith in His grace to bless any correct endeavour of even the humblest of His devotees, regardless of the merits of the performance.

I claim no originality for the views stated in the book. My approach to the subject has been that of a pilgrim visiting the shrine, whose curiosity is impelled by the serene beauty and the

majestic setting of the shrine, to probe into its past and interpret its message which the seven sacred hills silently whisper. If these pages help the pilgrim to beguile an idle hour while sojourning on the hills, I shall be content. If, however, they are able to convince scholars, better fitted for the task, that there is still a rich field for research here and induce them to further effort and succeed also in awakening the interest of the busy politicians in the temple and guide them to correct lines of approach in framing the new administrative set up, I shall feel amply rewarded for the labour.

It is true that the Devasthanam Committee had commissioned Dr. Krishnaswami Aiyangar to write a history of the temple, giving expression to certain views regarding the origin and institutions of the temple, but by stating that there is also room for other points of view, no disrespect to the memory of the learned Doctor is meant. Valuable as it is, Dr. Krishnaswami Aiyangar's work has not rendered further research on the subjects superfluous. It is not however claimed that the present study exhausts the subject. It may be taken as one more attempt to study a rich subject from a fresh angle; moreover, it is attempted here to bring the history of the temple up to date and naturally it covers fresh ground. The book falls into four natural divisions.

Part I—is a guide to the temple, its daily routine, darshanams, utsavams and fees; it also suggests the spiritual significance of the Seven Hills and interprets the message of the shrine, as embedded in the sthalapurana; extracts from the Mackenzie collections, regarding the routes, daily routine etc., as they were in 1800 A.D., are also given.

Part II—sketches the early history of the Shrine basing mainly on unpublished local records contained in the Mackenzie collection, Archaeological reports, and inscriptions. In view of the fresh light thrown by some records a few suggestions are offered regarding the identification of Vengadam of the Alvars' songs; some space has been devoted to the Siva-Vishnu controversy, not on account of its intrinsic worth, but as Dr. Krishnaswami Aiyangar has dealt with nothing else, in his two volumes of the History of Tirupati and has actively revived the controversy, it

was not found possible to omit mention of it altogether, in a work dealing with the history of the shrine.

Part III—sketches the administrative history of the temple from 1800 A. D. up to date. It is based on Manuscript Translations of Mackenzie Collections, Reports, Parliamentary papers, court exhibits and contemporary history; the origin of the several fees levied at the temple for darshanams, utsavams etc. is traced. It will be found to be of topical interest in the context of the proposed amendment of the present Devasthanam Act; further, this part contains several interesting extracts from Reports in the Mackenzie collection, regarding the condition of Tirumalai and the state of worship in the temple at the close of the Eighteenth Century.

Part IV—is a translation of an account of the temple, furnished by the Stanikas in charge of the temple in A. D. 1800, in the form of questions and answers, Sawal—E—Jawab, to Mr. Stratton, the first Collector of the District, on the assumption of the direct management of the temple by the East India Company. It is of special interest as showing the honesty and the liberal spirit that pervaded the temple administration at the close of the eighteenth century. The Stanikas were not shy to admit that the God was worshipped as Siva according to the forms of Saiva-Agama for sometime and then as Subrahmanya up to the date of the transfer of the temple to the custody of the Vaishnavas, due to the efforts of Sri Ramanuja. This effectively clinches the arguments of Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar's school of writers, that the temple has always been that of Vishnu.

The book is thus intended to appeal to the Pilgrim, to the Scholar and to the Politician.

I have, mostly, allowed my authorities to speak for themselves and I believe that this arrangement leaves the reader free to draw his own conclusions from the material placed before him.

I regret that a few errors have crept into the book in the spelling of proper names like Padmavati and names

ending with Svami and special terms like Shanka, Navaneetham, Devasthanam, Mahatmyam, Ashtotra, Thirtham, Sthala, Maharata, Sawal-E-Jawab etc.

The manuscript of the book was sent to the Press in January 1948 but owing to a variety of unforeseen circumstances the printing could not be completed before the end of the year.

My obeisance to Lord Sri Venkatesvara, to whom the work is dedicated, for His grace in permitting my humble effort at understanding His mystery, to see the light of the day.

May His grace abide with you all !

Madras,
1st January 1949.

V. N. SRINIVASA RAO.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I have great pleasure in acknowledging my indebtedness to several friends who have helped me with manuscripts, records and quotations from ancient literature, relating to the temple, without which the work could not have been undertaken. It would be invidious to mention only a few names but I cannot omit mention of Sri D. Kalyana Rao of Chittoor, who had kindly presented me with the manuscript of *Sawal-E-Jawab*, which really started me on these studies, nor can I fail to acknowledge my obligations to my brother Mr. V. N. Shama Rao, B A., B.L., Advocate, T. Nagar, who not only encouraged me to write the history but kindly perused the manuscript and took several photos of the temple and its surroundings, some of which appear as illustrations in this book. My thanks are due to Mr. T. R. Ramakrishna Sastriar, M.A., B.L, an erudite Sanskrit scholar, for kindly looking through the manuscript, for checking the Sanskrit quotations, for furnishing correct translations of them and for generally checking up the portions relating to the esoteric significance of the shrine and suggesting improvements. I am also indebted to Mr. V. Venkatasubba Aiyar, B A., Retired Epigraphist, Madras, for not only helping me to get at the original transcripts of the inscriptions referred to in the book and furnishing me with true translations of them, but also for perusing the manuscript and checking up the chapters on the early history and suggesting corrections and improvements. I greatly appreciate the help rendered by my nephew Mr. V. N. Srinivasa Rao, M. A. (Oxon.), Bar-at-Law, Madras, in closely checking up the manuscript, suggesting improvements, preparing the manuscript for the Press and in correcting the proofs.

I had the singular good fortune of receiving invaluable help from the India Office Library, London, now designated Commonwealth Relations Office Library, through its distinguished Librarian, Dr. H. N. Randle, C.I.E., M.A., D.Phil. I had applied to him after sending the manuscript to the Press. He was kind enough to loan to me, first, the original detailed critical catalogue of the Mackenzie Manuscript Transla-

tions and Reports, to guide me to select the volumes relevant to the subject and then, arranged to send urgently, three heavy volumes, in hermetically sealed cases, at the cost of the library, for my perusal at Madras. As the printing of the book had been delayed for want of paper, opportunity was taken to introduce several selections from these volumes, some in the body of the book and some as notes under the relevant chapters, thus richly contributing to the research value of the book. This instance is sufficient to give an insight into the efficiency and organization of British Libraries and their spirit of service in the cause of knowledge. I am very grateful to Dr. H. N. Randle as he had enabled me, within a very short time, to obtain a general idea of the historical material contained in the Mackenzie manuscripts, which I could not get by months of wading through the mass of moth-eaten original manuscripts in the local library, which has not even got a detailed catalogue showing their contents. How much we wish the Doctor were in India to infuse the true library spirit and order, at least in our larger libraries in the City! I am greatly beholden to Rao Bahadur Sri N. Chandrasekhara Aiyar, B.A., B.L., Retired Judge of the Madras High Court, who is properly a native of Tirupati, for not only perusing the manuscript and suggesting valuable corrections, but for kindly writing a Foreword for this book. I acknowledge the help rendered to me by Sri P. Balakrishnamurti, B.O.L., Tirupati, in translating the *Sawal-E-Jawab* account.

My thanks are due to the Mythic Society, Bangalore, for kindly permitting me to reprint the *Sawal-E-Jawab*, and for also lending me four blocks, which were used for illustrating my article on Chandragiri, previously contributed to the Journal.

I thank the Proprietor, Luz Studio, Mylapore, for taking the photos for the illustrations in the book and I thank also the Directors, The Jupiter Press, Ltd., Madras, for the uniform courtesy and accommodation shown to me during the course of the printing and publication of the book.

Madras,
1st January 1949.

V. N. SRINIVASA RAO.

CONTENTS

Part I. Guide to the Temple, The Daily Routine of Worship, Fees etc. and The Significance of the Symbology of the Seven Hills.

Chapter		Page
I.	General Description ...	1
II.	Routes to the Hill Shrine ...	4
III.	The Temple—Daily Routine ...	7
IV.	The Puranic Story of the Origin of the Shrine and its Spiritual Significance ...	39
V.	Sri Sankaracharya and the Tirumalai Shrine ...	51
VI.	The Message of the Shrine ...	59

Part II. Early History and Transfer of the Temple to Sri Vaishnavas.

I.	Early Historical Traditions—Yadava Kings ...	76
II.	Ghattideva—Vishnuvardhana—Ramanuja ...	92
III.	Vengadam of the Alvars ...	108
IV.	Siva-Vishnu Controversy ...	132
V.	Saluva Narasimha and the Vijianagar line of Kings ...	154

Part III. Administrative History.

I.	British Period—The Carnatic Wars—Attacks on the Temple ...	157
II.	The Temple at the beginning of the Direct Management by the Company ...	168
III.	British Period—Sawal-E-Jawab ...	187
IV.	Stratton's Report and Later Reforms ...	190
V.	Relinquishment of Government Control of the Temple and the Management by Mahants ...	207
VI.	The Present Scheme of Management ...	224

Part IV. • Sawal-E-Jawab—Text (Translation) ... 284

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

		Facing page
I.	Kalyana-Venkatesvara *Frontispiece*	
II.	Routes to the Temple ...	4
III.	Entrance Gopuram to the Temple, with Svamipushkarini ...	8
IV.	Temple Views ...	32
V.	Map of Tirumalai—Tirupati ...	43
VI.	Padmavati Amman Temple Views ...	129
VII.	Krishnadevaraya & Venkatapatiraya ...	155
VIII.	The Mahal—Chandragiri ...	167
IX.	Kapilathirtham ...	237
X.	Papavinasanam & Akasa Ganga ...	245

ABBREVIATIONS

D. I.	Devasthanam Inscriptions.
D. E.	Devasthanam Epigraphical
S. I. I.	South Indian Inscriptions
N. I.	Nellore Inscriptions
Epi.	Epigraphical
Epi. Car.	Epigraphica Carnatica

OM

Sri Venkatesvaraya Namaha:

TIRUPATI
SRI VENKATESVARA - BALAJI

Chapter I

GENERAL DESCRIPTION

The Eastern Ghats in the Chittoor District begin in the Kangundi Zamindari, and after running a northerly course, enter the Chandragiri Taluk and curving and spreading through the Taluk, extend northwards to the Cuddapah and the Kurnool Districts. This circular formation coupled with the buff-coloured "great mural scarps and thickly covered annual markings" give the range the appearance of a huge cobra lying at rest, thus earning for it the local name of Seshachalam, after the legendary Thousand-headed Adisesha; the other name Venkatachalam or White Mountain is given to the range on account of the colour of its cliff faces. These coloured cliffs of the Tirupati Hills have been in the past a landmark forming perhaps the northern limits of the Tamil country and hence the special name Vengadam or Venkatachalam to this section of the Ghats while the whole range is described as Sri Parvatha or Sri Sailam.

According to Venkatachalamahatyam, Tirupati Hills are known as Venkatachalam and Srisailam: these are derived as follows:—

Venkatam

I. "Vēṅkarō, Amṛita Bījastu, Kaṭam Āisvaryamucyatē
Amṛtāis'varya Sanghatvāt Vēnkṭādri riti Smṛtah"

"वेङ्कारोऽमृतबीजस्तु कटमैश्वर्य मुच्यते ।
अमृतैश्वर्य सङ्घत्वाद्वेङ्कटाद्रिरिति स्मृतः ॥

II. "Śrīpradatvāt S'riyō vāsāt Śabdas'aktyā ca yōgatah,
Rūpyā S'risāila ityēvam nāma cāsya girērabhūt"

"श्रीप्रदत्वात् श्रियोवासात् शब्दशक्त्या च योगतः ।
रूप्या श्रीशैल इत्येवं नाम चास्य गिरेरभूत् ॥"

I. *Vem* – Eternal, *kata* – aisvaryam or bliss, *Venkata* – Eternal Bliss.

Vem is the bija letter of *Amṛita* or Immortality or Eternity.

Katam is the bija indicating *Aisvarya* or supremacy. By the combination of Immortality and Supremeness, it is called Venkatachalam or Venkata Hill.

II. It is called the "Sri Saila" appropriately enough, both literally and metaphorically, because it is the bestower of Sri or fortune, and is the abode of Sri or Lakshmi. (*Varaha Purana, Venkatachalamahatya, Chapter* 36, *Slokas* 31, 34).

The shrine of Sri Venkatesvara is situated on these hills, and the site of the shrine is known as *Tirumalai* or the Sacred Mountain, Tirumalai being the Tamil equivalent of Sri-Parvata or Srisailam. The way to the shrine from Tirupati lies along a chain of seven hills, and hence the popular appellation of the God as "*Edukondalavadu*" (Telugu) and "*Elumalayan*" (Tamil) or the God of the seven hills.

Tirupati is about a mile from the foot hills of the range. Tirupati means "the Sacred Lord". Its original name is not known. Perhaps the locality formed part of the ancient village of Tiruchanur or was the now extinct village Kottur. The name was spelt

by early English writers as "*Triputty*"; this significant, especially, on account of the origin of town as a halting place for devotees going to the T malai shrine. "*Triputty*" literally means "knov knowledge and the object of knowledge." The sojo at the foot of the shrine represents the condition of ordinary pilgrim with the normal attitude to life obsessed with "I", "Thou" and "This". After pilgrim ascends the six hills (Shat chakras) and reac the Lord on the seventh hill he realizes Him as his c self or merges in Him losing identity as Subject Object.*

The shrine of Goddess Padmavathi is situated Tiruchanur or Tirucchohinur or Tiru-sukanur ab three miles from Tirupati. Originally the vill appears to have been a part of Yogimallavaram Tiruparasaram or Tirupaladeswaram, which was r dered into Tirucchohinur or Tiru-Yoginur and sub quently altered into Tiruchuganur and corrupted i its present form Tiruchanur.

* "The Triputi vanishes for the Jeevanmuktha who realized his own self and who has identified himself with E Brahman. The Sight and the Seen have been merged in Seer."—Mantra 13 Vedantasara Upanishad (Sri Swami S nanda's translation).

CHAPTER II

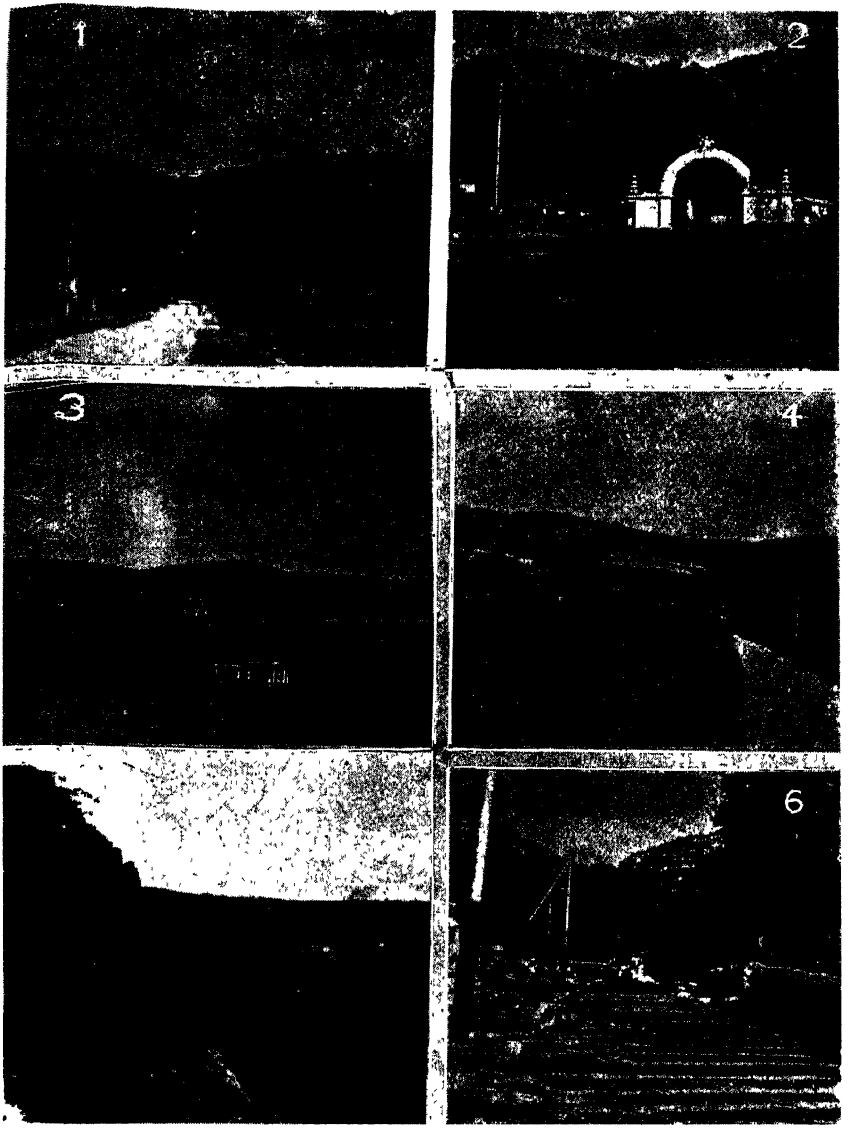
ROUTES TO THE HILL SHRINE

Tirupati is six miles from Renigunta Railway unction, which is eighty four miles from Madras on he Madras-Bombay line while Tiruchanur is three niles from Renigunta. The stations are on the Katpadi-Gudur line (which is joined at Pakala by the Dharma-varam line).

There is a good choultry for pilgrims close to Tirupati East Railway Station built by the Devasthanam. There are also innumerable choultries within the town. Swarms of pilgrim-guides attend to the needs of visitors. The distance to the Tirumalai shrine is about seven niles from the main town. There is a motorable road-vay for a distance of one mile and the pilgrims' way lies over a flight of steps across the chains of hills. This is a picturesque route. From the Gopuram at the Alipiri at the foot of the hills there is an ascent for a distance of one mile upto Gali-Gopuram (Kali-Gopuram). The view obtained from this place is an unforgettable one. The rest of the route lies along hill slopes and gorges haded by huge mango, sandalwood, redsanders and other trees with sweet smelling flowers. The thickly vooded slopes and valleys present a panorama of enchanting beauty and colour. This is the route taken by those who have vows to fulfil at the shrine.

The Devasthanam recently laid out a motorable oad over the hills covering a total distance of 13 miles

Views of Routes to the Hill Temple.



[*Photo by: Luz Studio.*

1. View of the Step-way with Galigopuram at the Top.
2. Arch-entrance to the Bus route.
3. 4. & 5. Bus routes.
6. Step-way - a Dholly in view.

and is also running a bus service. The shrine is at a elevation of about 2500 feet, but there are higher peak near the temple, the highest of which rises to a heigh of 3622 feet.

There is a shorter but stiffer route from Chandra giri which is one mile and seven furlongs from the foo of the Hills. Buses run up to the foot. On this rout there is a good choultry at Mangapuram, about a mil from the Chandragiri Railway Station, constructed b the Devasthanam. The Chandragiri route (Sripa Mettu) appears to have been used by the Yadava an the Vijianagar Kings who reigned at Chandragir "There is a Gong stand on the eastern side of th Chandragiri hill fort looking towards Tirumalai an on the crest of the cliff near the holy temple is a simila one. They were erected to announce to the Raja th fact that the Swami had dined after which he felt a liberty to partake of food himself." These relics indicat that a chain of gongs had been constructed betwee Tirumalai and Chandragiri and a system of signals wa in use to announce to the King at Chandragiri that a was well at the Tirumalai shrine.

The ancient mode of conveyance to Tirumalai, sti used by a majority of the pilgrims, is by *Dholly*. Th is a bamboo cradle suspended from the middle of a lon stout bamboo pole carried by two persons one at eith end.

In the Mackenzie collections, Manuscript transl tions and reports Vol. XVI-48-item 6-p. 449, translate from Marati by Baboo Rao in 1804 A.D., there is an i teresting report about the then existing routes to t Tirumalai temple. It is extracted below:

Account of the seven hills and of the roads to Sheshachala Parvutt on which Sri Swamy dwells

The road to the Residence, Sanadee (or presence) of Sri Swamy who dwells on the mountain of Sheshachala Parvutt lies over seven other mountains.

1. Road by Tripetty.
2. Road by Capeela Teerta (Kapila Thirtham).
3. Road by Paroor (Perur).
*4. Road by Sreeputty Mutta (Sripathi Mettu).

These four roads are south of the mountain and people ascend them by steps. Mantapams and temples etc. are erected on the road of Tripetty; on the road of Sreeputty Mutta are erected Mantapams, Gopuram, etc.; on the other two roads there are no buildings. Bullocks, horses, etc. pass by these four roads excepting the two, Tripetty and Sreeputty Mutta. Between the road of Tripetty and Sreeputty-mutta, is another road called Cooroova Dovah (kuruka vali), which joins the Tripetty Road near the place of Mollacall Mooroo (Molangal Murchi or Mokalla Mitta)- The Devatas and Rushees are supposed to resort thither by secret ways below the earth (Guha Dwaram). There is also a path up the mountain but it is never used by mortals and is said to be that by which the Rushees and Devatas go, making altogether 5 ways on the *south* of the mountain.

North of the mountain is

1. A road by Mamandur. 2. The road by Sheetty-coonta (Settigunta) and people usually walk up by these two roads separately as far as half way up the mountain, where they join and form one road; on this road there are but few steps and Mantapams and in some places the steps are broken.

East of the mountain are roads by the following places, viz.

1. Karkumbody. 2. Callustree (Kalahasti) and 3. Venkatagiri on which are steps and Mantapams in several places; these roads after going a considerable way join that on the north side.

West of the mountain is a road that comes from Naga Puttala (Nagapatla) through a thick wood; there are few steps on it.

* (Chandragiri route).

CHAPTER III

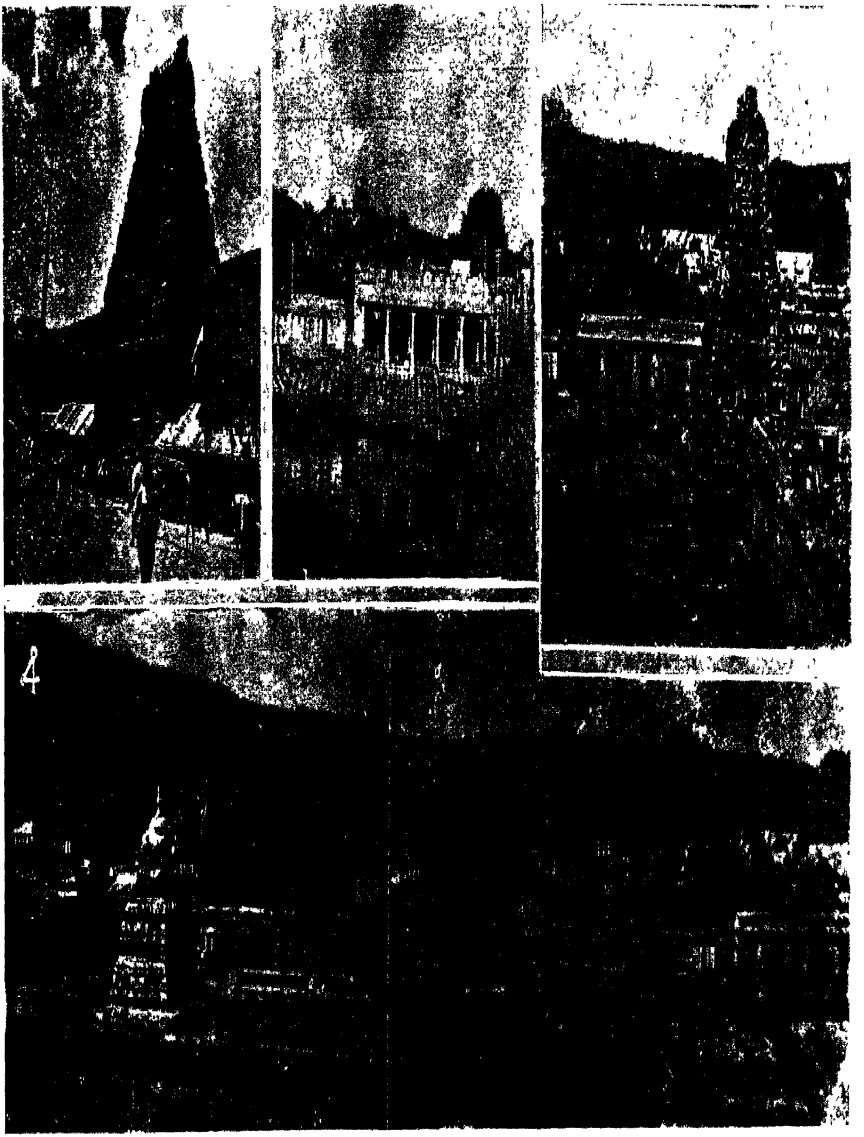
THE TEMPLE.—DAILY ROUTINE

1. Darshanams, Utsavams and Arjitams

The details of daily worship and the rules for entry into the shrine for darshanam of the God during the course of such worship are peculiar to this shrine. Ordinarily except for about an hour in the morning, an hour during midday and an hour at night, which are called periods of dharma darshanams *i.e.* free darshanams, admission to the sanctum has to be paid for at varying rates according to the darshanam in progress. Unlike other places where the pilgrims can see the festivals only at the seasons fixed for each temple by the temple authorities, here, the pilgrims can pay and arrange for any festival (including Brahmotsavam) on the occasion of their visit. Also they can arrange for any naivedyam or offerings to the God by paying the fees at the scales fixed by the temple authorities. The pilgrims can pay for the charges of a darshanam or seva and thus have the satisfaction of having done the particular seva to the God. The following details of the daily darshanams, monthly and annual festivals and the utsavams and sevas and naivedyams that can be arranged for by payment, called Arjitams, are taken from the Devastanam guide to the temple, in Telugu, compiled by the temple Parapatyadar (Executive Officer), the late Mr. S. V. Narasimha Rao, and published in 1924. The scale of fees and the daily programme have been adopted from the Devastanam Panchangam for the year 1947-48. The interesting feature of the routine is the meticulous attention paid to each item of detail such as,

when a particular variety of naivedyam (*i.e.* whether Pulihorai or Dadhyodanam) should be offered at a particular darshanam and whether the sundal should be of Bengal-gram, dhal or whole seeds.

The entrance gopuram to the temple is called Simhadwaram or Padikavali-gopuram. This is opened in the morning after Mangala vadyam or Harikoluvu. The Archakas enter first and only then pilgrims are allowed to go in. This will be about 7 a. m. The entrance to the sanctum is called Bangaruvakili As soon as the Archakas are ready for duty, a gong is sounded to announce that service holders in the temple have assembled for duty. The Parapatyadar then permits the opening of the Bangaruvakili. Immediately one Golla, some Archakas, and the Jiyangar go inside and bolt the doors. The God who is at rest on a cot is awakened and offered milk. Then the doors are opened. The Archakas, Jiyangar and others who are present outside the Bangaruvakili, chant the "Suprabhatam," a form of Mangalaslokas. After the doors are opened, those present enter the sanctum and receive thirtham and prasadam according to the local order of precedence. The cot and the bed are then removed and the Hundi vessel is put in its accustomed place. Only those who have paid for the privilege of being present at this darshanam are admitted. Women are excluded from this darshanam. Then the dharma darshanam commences. People who have paid large sums of money by way of offerings, are first admitted by a special gate and after they come out others are admitted by the gate near the gong stand. For each Harathi to the God a ticket costing a rupee should be bought from the shroff and presented to the Harkara, an officer standing at the entrance to the



(Photo—1 & 2 by: Luz Studio :: 3 & 4 by: Mr. V. N. Shama Rao.

1. Entrance (Padikavali) Gopuram & the Bazaar.
2. Varahasvami Temple on the Bank of Svami Pushkarini.
3. & 4. General View of the Temple of Sri Venkatesvara.

Holy of Holies. The thirtham that is given during this darshanam is considered specially holy as the thirtham left by Brahma and other Gods who are said to worship Lord Venkatesvara during nights. This darshanam lasts for about an hour. People wearing pyjamas are not allowed inside the Bangaruvakili. Weapons, sticks and articles made of leather such as belts, purses etc., should be left at the entrance, Padikavili gopuram Darshanam for gosha women can be arranged by previous arrangement with the Parapatyadar.

2. Suddhi

After the dharma darshanam there is Suddhi (purification) for about half an hour when nobody is admitted into the sanctum.

3. Thomala Seva

The next function is Thomala Seva which is the service of decorating the God with flower garlands. The fee for admission to this Seva is thirteen rupees. Five persons are admitted inside on this ticket on ordinary days but during Brahmotsavam and Navarathri festivals only four persons are allowed. Besides these, persons who have paid for Ṅamantranotsavam and Brahmotsavam are allowed to bring in about ten persons each, the number being proportionate to the actual grade of the utsavam for which they had paid. This service consists of Abhishekam to 'Bhogasrinivasamurthi' (the silver image). The feet of the main image of Sri Venkatesvara are now allowed to be seen and food offerings are made to the God. The Tamil prabhandas are now chanted along with vedaparayanam. During this Seva, two torches, fed with ghee,

contributed by the Raja of Gadwal, are lighted. The representatives of the Hathiramji Mutt and the Maharaja of Mysore, swing chamaras (flywhisks) before the God. The final function is harathi by the Devastanam after which pilgrims may get harathis done, after buying tickets in the usual manner, before coming out.

4. Koluvu

The next function is Koluvu or Darbar. For this seva, the image of Koluvu Srinivasamurti* is seated on a silver chair and placed in the Ardhamantapam, adjoining the Bangaruvakili. Torches contributed by the Raja of Gadwal are held on either side of the God. A golden umbrella presented by the Maharaja of Mysore is held over the deity. Light refreshments are offered to the God and then a *Danam* of sixteen seers of rice with a fee of two annas is presented to the Archakas by the temple. Gingilly and dried ginger are fried and mixed with jaggery and offered as naivedyam to the God. The panchangam for the day is read before the God and after this, the previous day's entries in the day book are read aloud. Again Navaneetha (butter) harathi is offered and prasadams distributed according to the local custom and the God is taken inside. A sadhu from the Hathiramji Mutt swings the chamaras (flywhisks) during this Seva.

5. Archana

About ten minutes after Koluvu, the Archana seva commences. Admission to this seva is by a ticket costing seven rupees. Four persons are allowed to go in on ordinary days but during Navaratri and Brahmotsavam festivals only three persons are admitted on each ticket.

* Please see note II on Page 36.

Whatever may be the number of tickets sold for Archana darshanam, only one Archana is performed but the names of the ticket-holders are called out at the end and they are blessed individually.

6. Laghu Suddhi

After Archana darshanam, there is purification and then huge vessels containing all kinds of food naivedyams are taken in and offered to God. The two huge bells on either side of Bangaruvakili are now rung. After the bells stop, the subsidiary deities are offered naivedyam and then the Jiyangar and other service holders enter the sanctum, recite the Tamil prabhandas, receive prasadams and come out. This function has ordinarily to close at noon. The dharma darshanam commences at about 1 p.m. This is called first Ghantadarshanam or noon-darshanam. It is during this darshanam that most of the pilgrims have to manage to get in, to see the God. While this darshanam is in progress the Hundi is taken out of its case and the contents are examined and sorted.

7. Suddhi and Archana

After the dharma darshanam, there is Suddhi and again there is Astothara Archana (108 names) for which also the admission fee is seven rupees as for the Sahasranama Archana (1008 names.)

8. Naivedyam

After this, there is Suddhi and Second Ghantanaivedyam to the God, the subsidiary deities and to Bhashyakar. The doors of the Bangaruvakili are closed after this naivedyam and the Archakas and other attendants go home.

9. Arjitotsavams

The special utsavams for which the pilgrims pay money are now conducted provided the weather is fine.

10. Night Darshanams

The Archakas return after nightfall, open the Bangaruvakili, perform Suddhi and go through Thomalaseva, Archana and Naivedyam (Ghanta). The Archana and Thomala sevas are not open to the public even for payment. After the naivedyam (Ghanta), dharma darshanam is allowed. After the dharma darshanam, the Hundi is sealed and kept inside, the contents being reserved for examination next day along with the receipts till the next noon.

11. Ekanta Seva

After the Hundi is taken in, a Suddhi is performed; the God's bed is made in the hall, called "Sri Rama's Sannadhi", adjacent to the Holy of Holies; Sripada chandanam, milk and fruits are then kept inside; after which, the Archakas go in, close the doors and put the image of Bhogasrinivasamurti* in a recumbent posture on a velvet bed on the cot and offer the naivedyams previously mentioned and then open the doors. The charge for admission to this seva is thirteen rupees. On ordinary days four persons are admitted on a ticket but during Brahmotsavam etc., only three persons are admitted. No one is allowed to go beyond the first hall from the Bangaruvakili. During this Seva, Tarigonda Venkamamba's Harathi called 'Mutyala (pearl) Harathi' is performed before the God. Others who wish to participate in this harathi, drop one rupee on the plate, which is considered as good as their having

* Please see note II on Page 36.

offered a separate harathi. The money collected is handed over, at the end, to the Parapatyadar for being credited to the temple. Persons who witness this seva have to submit themselves to a search (Harkara) by the temple servants at the Bangaruvakili. After the pilgrims come out, the Archakas, Jiyangar and Gollas search the premises and come out bolting the doors. The doors of the Bangaruvakili are then sealed with the seals of the Parapatyadar and Bavaji and the temple guards then assume charge of the temple. The chandanam offered to the God during this seva is distributed to a selected few the next day and reserved by the Parapatyadar for being given to distinguished visitors and officers. This is the daily routine, but there is no dharma darshanam from the night of Thursday till the evening of Friday.

Thursday

After the noon darshanam, the jewels and clothes of the God are removed and He is robed with an ordinary dhoti and an upper garment. The Namam, which covers the major part of the face and the eyes on other days is thinned out on this day and after the Second Ghanta the doors are closed. In the evening the doors are opened and from a room called "Yamunothara" flower garlands are taken in with music and the God is again decked in robes and flowers and the usual Thomala, Archana and Ghanta sevas are gone through. This is called "Pulangi Seva". The fee for admission to this is one rupee for each person. There is no dharma darshanam to this Seva. Those who pay for the entire Pulangi Seva are allowed to take with them a few persons at the discretion of the Parapatyadar.

Friday

The first darshanam in the morning is not free. It is treated as Pulangi Seva of the previous night and the same rates prevail. After this darshanam, there is no darshanam till the noon Ghanta after which, the Abhishekam preparations are made. Milk is made ready ; the Parapatyadar and the Jiyangar carry the perfumes consisting of refined camphor, saffron, civet and musk round the temple with music and then enter the Sanctum. The Abhishekam commences. The admission for this darshanam is one rupee. Those who pay for this Pulikapu Seva are also given a cup of perfumes and taken along with the Parapatyadar in the procession round the temple and then into the temple.

The first bath is with milk. It is followed by a bath of water, then abhishekam with Kesari (Saffron?) is performed. This again is followed by a bath of water. Then an abhishekam consisting of water mixed with turmeric is given, (it is said, to the Lakshmi seated on the chest). This is followed by a bath of water. Then harathi of refined camphor is performed before the God and naivedyams of navanitam and tambulam are offered after which the pilgrims are asked to come out. "Sripadarenuva" is now prepared from the refined camphor and civet oil used in adorning the God and distributed in small quantities to a lucky few. Some quantity is reserved with the Parapatyadar for distribution among distinguished visitors and officers, according to his discretion. Also sandal paste impressions of the right palm of the God called "Abhaya-hastams" and impressions of the same hand with the gold kavacham on, in sandal paste called "Manikyams" are now prepared for sale to pilgrims. The abhishekam water collected now is also sold by Archakas and the

Parapatyadar also keeps a small quantity for free distribution.

After the God is once more decked, the gold images of the Goddesses suspended on the breasts of the God are offered Abhishekam in secret, to which function no one is admitted.

After this, the usual Thomala Seva and Archana are done and after the Second Ghanta, the dharma darshanam is allowed. Then in the evening the usual Suddhi, Thomala Seva, Archana and Ghanta are gone through.

It is stated that on days when there are many utsavams, there will be no interval to arrange for dharma darshanam after Visvarupa Darshanam in the morning and also during nights.

Daily Programme excepting Thursdays and Fridays

Day.	Rate of admission.	Approximate Time.
1. Suprabhatam	No admission	7 a.m.
2. Visvarupa darshanam	Free (dharma darshanam)	7–30 a.m.
3. Thomala Seva	Rs. 13/- five persons on ordinary days	9 a.m.
4. Koluvu	No admission, but can be seen from outside the enclosure	10 a.m.
5. Archana (1008 names)	Rs. 7/- four persons allowed	10–30 a.m.
6. Naivedyam (1st Ghanta)	No admission	12 noon.
7. Dharma Darshanam	Free	1 p.m.
8. Archana (108 names)	Rs. 7/- four persons allowed	3 p.m.
9. Naivedyam (2nd Ghanta)	No admission.	4 p.m.

Day	Rate of Admission.	Approximate Time.
10. Arjita (paid) utsavams		5 p.m.
All utsavams for which money has been paid by pilgrims into the treasury earlier in the day are now done.		
Night:		
1. Thomala,		
2. Archana,		
3. Naivedyam (Night Ghanta)	No admission.	8–30 p.m.
4. Dharma Darshanam	Free	9 p.m.
5. Ekanta or Mancham or Panpu (bed) Seva	Rs. 13/- five persons admitted.	10–30 p.m.
Thursday: No Dharma Darshanam at night	Re. 1/- per individual.	
Friday: No Dharma Darshanam after Visvarupa Darshanam	Re. 1/- per individual.	
Pulikapu or Abhishekam or Tirumanjana darshanam	Re. 1/- per individual.	1 p.m.
Thomala, Archana	Rates as usual.	4 to 5 p.m.
Dharma darshanam	Free	After 6 p.m.

No Dharma darshanam in the night.

(On Fridays the only Dharma darshanam is at 6 p.m.)

MONTHLY FESTIVALS

Ekadasi: On this day all the deities in the Sanctum are given a bath. On Dwadasi and Bahula Ekadasi, Dadhyodanam is offered as a Visesha Naivedyam (specially acceptable offering).

Sravana Nakshatram is the Birth Astricism of Sri Venkatesvara. The utsavamurthies of the God and Goddesses are bathed, decked and taken out in proces-

sion round the four streets after the conclusion of which they are installed in the Rangamantapam and offered naivedyams of chakkara pongal, sundal (unbroken Bengal-gram seeds), dosais and then taken in, of course, after distribution of the prasadams to the service holders and a few others present.

The next two festivals are one for Sri Krishna on Rohini day and the other for Bhashyakarar on Arudra day when processions of Sri Krishna and Bhashyakarar, with Sri Venkatesvara are taken out respectively and taken round the streets and offered the usual naivedyams.

Three other monthly festivals are those instituted by private donations:

1. On Punarvasu day, the birth astricism of Sri Rama, a special utsavam is done for Rama, Lakshmana, Seeta and Hanuman installed within the Sanctum. This was instituted by Ramalakkan Doss.

2. On Chitra, which is the birth astricism of the Maharaja of Mysore, a special utsavam instituted by the Maharaja, is conducted.

3. Dwadasi utsavam is a festival instituted by the Rajah of Gadwal.

4. Vasantotsavam has been instituted by Ramalakkan Doss. This lasts for 3 days starting from Chaitra Suddha Ekadasi and ending on Pournami Day. This festival is usually attended with great pomp and display.

ANNUAL FESTIVALS & ASTANAMS.

Samvatsaradi (New Year's Day) Astanam: This is done on the Telugu New Year's day. On this day the usual naivedyam which is done at 12 noon is offered by 5 a.m. and the utsavamurthies of the God and Goddesses are

installed in "Sarva Bhupala Vahanam," otherwise known as "Bangaru Mantapam" and brought into the Rangamantapam; then they are decked in a diamond armour (Vajrakavacham) and jewels presented by Raghoji Bhonsle. After the Second Ghanta Naivedyam, the Gods are again presented with new garments and robed in them. The chief functionaries of the temple now assemble before the God; the new calendar is then read. The authors of the Panchangam are given some presents and a few minor functions are gone through and the naivedyams of "Laddu", "Vadai", "Appam", "Dosai" etc., offered to the God, are distributed among the temple service holders and those who have contributed towards these offerings. This function usually closes at about 11 a.m. It is only after this that dharma darshanam is allowed.

Nityotsavam: This commences with the Telugu New Year's Day and continues for forty days. Every evening the God alone is taken round the four streets in procession with music, vedaparayanam and prabandam. After the conclusion of the forty days utsavam, "bakalabath" and "sundal" are distributed in the mantapam in front of the shrine of Bhashyakarar.

Anivarastanam: This is done on the day of Dakshinayana Punya Kalam at the end of Ani month and on the first of Adi month. The same formalities as on the New Year's Day are gone through. On this day the Archakas hand over their keys and seals to the Vicharanakarta and the Jiyangar and after receiving the usual prasadams and presents resume their duties. The Dharma darshanam commences only after the conclusion of this function.

Deepavali Astanam: This is similar to the above but no keys are handed over and taken back; the utsava-murties who are stationed in the Kalyanamantapam during the Brahmotsavam are brought back into the main sanctum on this day.

Theppotsavam (*Floating festival*): This was newly instituted by Mahant Prayag Dossji Varu and attracts many pilgrims.

Brahmotsavam: This is usually celebrated during Navaratri (Dassarah) except in the years when Adhika masas intervene. On the day previous to the commencement of the utsavam, Ankurarpana is done. Except the images of the Bhogamurthi and the Ugramurthi, the other movable metal images of Gods are taken out and placed in the Yagasala in the Kalyanamantapam. Before the night naivedyam (Pedda Ghanta), the image of Senadhipathi is taken round the four streets and installed in the Tirumalraya Mantapam and offered naivedyams. It is only after this, the night functions are concluded in the temple. The Brahmotsavam is done with due mantras and homas.

1st Day: Dhwajarohanotsavam: Pedda Seshavahanam:

After Viswarupa darshanam, Thomalaseva, Archana and Ghanta, before Sathumorai, the Utsava-murthies are richly decorated and placed in a golden Tirichi and some religious formalities are gone through. The Devastanam chief executives and those of the pilgrims who have paid for the Brahmotsavam, then recite the sankalpa and proceed to the main Shrine and formally invoke the blessings of the God for the successful conclusion of the function and then start in a procession with the utsavamurthi along the four streets the Archakas offering bali at the terminal points. After

their return, the flag is worshipped, offered naivedyam and then hoisted on the flag-staff. The Utsavamurthies are offered worship in the Tirumalarayamantapam and then taken in. The Second Ghanta begins now. Thomalaseva, Archana and Night Ghanta are now gone through. After this, the God is again taken in procession on the Big Seshavahanam.

2nd Day: After the First Ghanta, there is procession of the God on the smaller Seshavahanam. In the night after the Ghanta there is procession on Hamsavahanam.

3rd Day: Day—Simha vahanam
Night—Muthupandal vahanam (Pearl Canopy)

4th Day: Day—Kalpa Vriksham
Night—Sarva Bhupala Vahanam

5th Day: Day—Mohini Avataram
Night—Garudotsavam

6th Day: Day—Hanumantha Vahanam
Evening—Vasantotsavam
Night—Elephant Vahanam

7th Day: Day—Suryaprabha
Night—Chandraprabha

8th Day: *Car Festival*—commences after the First Ghanta in the morning ; after the conclusion of the Car Festival and the God is taken in, the Second Ghanta commences. Soon after, the Night Ghanta also is done and the procession of the God on Horse Vahanam starts.

9th Day: Palaki Utsavam and Churnabhishekam —both are concluded by 7 a.m. After this, the God and Chakratalvar are given a bath in the sub-shrine of Varahaswami ; Chakratalvar then dips into the Swami

Pushkarini and the Gods then enter their Shrines and naivedyams are offered. Dharma darshanam starts now.

Navaratri Utsavam

When there is Adhika Masa according to Chandrayana, the Brahmotsavam is celebrated in the month of Bhadrapada, During Navaratri, the Navaratri Utsavam is separately conducted; Dhwajarohanam, Avarohanam and Radhotsavam alone are omitted and the rest of the Brahmotsavam programme is gone through.

Dhanurmasam

During this month, Suprabhatam and the Tamil prabhandams are recited in the mornings before the doors of the Bangaruvakili are opened. Subsequently, Thomalaseva and Bilva Archana are performed but there is no admission to these functions. After naivedyam, Dharma darshanam is allowed except on Fridays. Prasadams consisting of sundal, sweet dosais, pongal, chakrapongal and fruits are distributed among those present. During this month instead of Sri Venkatesvara, Sri Krishna is put on the bed during Ekanta Seva.

Mukkoti Ekadasi also falls in this month. The Vaikunta prakaram i.e. the enclosure immediately round the Sanctum is kept open only on this day. In the evening, the God is decked in diamonds and seated in the Sarva Bhupala Vahanam and taken out in procession. Soon after midnight, the doors are opened and the Dhanurmasa Pujas for the next day are commenced and after Thomala, Archana and Ghanta, Chakratalvar is taken round the four streets and bathed in the Swami Pushkarini. A bath in the Swami Pushkarini just now is considered specially efficatious in removing sins and conferring merit. All the three

hundred and sixty crores of thirthams and Gods are said to bathe in these waters on this occasion to get themselves purified. The gates of the Vaikunta Prakaram are closed on the evening of the Dwadasi day.

Adyayanotsavam

This is conducted for 25 days. The utsava deities are installed in the Kalyanamantapam. Everyday Vedas and Tamil prabhandams are recited. It is said that this utsavam was instituted to wipe off sins of omission and commission in the Vaidika Ceremonies performed in the temple during the course of the year.

Radhasaptami

On this day, the God is decked all in diamonds and installed on Suryaprabha Vahanam and stationed in the Northern Street, facing the Sun. The Sun's rays kiss the feet of the God while the devotees are treated to a vision of effulgence equal to myriad Suns. Subsequently, the God is taken in procession successively on Sesha, Garuda and Hanumantha vahanams, (small sets); then Chakratalvar has a bath in the Pushkarini. The dharma darshanam commences after the second Ghanta; meanwhile the Utsavamurthi is taken on another round of processions on Sarvabhupala, Kalpavriksha and Chandraprabha Vahanams. The Night Ghanta then begins.

Sevas :

* 1. Sahasra Kalasabhishekam—Rs. 1,005/-

* After the First Ghanta in the morning about 8 a.m. Bhoga-Srinivasamurthi, the Utsavamurthies and the Senathipati are seated in the Rangamantapam and bathed in water consecrated in 1008 silver vessels. The image of Bhoga Srinivasamurthi is connected by a silk thread with the Mulasthanam image. This is the only occasion when Bhoga Srinivasamurthi moves out of the Garbhagriham.

* 2.	Tiruppavadai Full	Rs. 1400
	do Half	Rs. 700
3.	Pulangi (Thursday night)	Rs. 60
4.	Pulikapu: (Friday)	
	1. Seva—	Rs. 450
	2. Gambura Cup (Refined Camphor)	Rs. 250
	3. Punugu Chattam cup- (civet oil)	Rs. 85
	4. Japhara Cup	Rs. 65
	5. Kasturi Cup (Musk)	Rs. 50
* 5.	Kovil Alvar Tirumanjanam	Rs. 500
* 6.	Amantranotsavam	Rs. 100

* *Tiruppavadai*: Some bags of rice are cooked and a huge mass of food is heaped before the God in the Rangamantapam and after naivedyam is distributed as usual. (Note.—This item indicates the survival of Shakti worship: cf. Gangajathara Kumbham.)

* *Kovil Alvar Tirumanjanam*: Early in the morning before the first Ghanta, the metal Akandams and lights are removed and cleaned up. The walls and the roof of the Garbhagriham are cleaned up and smeared over with a mixture of camphor, Kunkum and sandal paste. After the second Ghanta, about four p. m. the donor of this Seva is presented with new clothes and taken out with music. The Dharma darshanam takes place after this.

* *Amantranotsavam*: This is equivalent to doing one day's puja to the God. Ten persons are admitted to Thomala, Archana and Ekanta Sevas. Some quantity of Pongal prasadam during the noon and thirty dosais in the night and a ball of Manoharam (Rice flour mixed with jaggery) are presented to the donor. He has to pay in addition to the fee, rupee one as dattam during Thomala Seva and also buy separate Harathi tickets for each Darshanam.

Naivedyams are divided into two groups (1) Cherupulu (food) and (2) Pallu (sweetmeats) :—

(1) Cherupulu :

Sira	Rs.	150
Kesaribath	Rs.	85
Sakarbath	Rs.	75
Payasam	Rs.	80
Chakrapongal	Rs.	70
Pongal	Rs.	60
Pulihorai	Rs.	40
Dadhyodanam	Rs.	40

Taliga Vartana (Fees for preparation) Rs. 3 Extra.

(2) Pallu (Sweetmeats) :

(1) Jilebi : Rs. 125, (2) Laddu : Rs. 85, (3) Vadai : Rs. 65, (4) Manoharam : Rs. 70, (5) Appam : Rs. 60, (6) Poli : Rs. 45, (7) Suyyam : Rs. 60, (8) Dosai : Rs. 50, (9) Tēntholai : Rs. 55, (10) Ukapachadi : Rs. 5 (Ukaya to be produced by Pilgrims)

Utsavams :

* Vasantotsavam	Rs.	1500
* Brahmotsavam		
1st Grade	Rs.	1005
2nd Grade	Rs.	900

* *Vasantotsavam :* This is done for ten days. After the Second Ghanta, the Utsavamurthies are stationed in the Tirumalarayamantapam, given a bath and naivedyam and taken in procession round the Sampangi Pradakshina (outer enclosure), offered naivedyams and sandal paste, in the mantapam near the store-room and then taken in procession along the four streets. Same complimentary presents to donors as for Brahmotsavam.

Brahmotsavam. This is done for eight days. All the processions on the specified sixteen vahanams except the Car Festival, will be done after the Second Ghanta. In the place of the Car, Sarva Bhupala Vahanam will be decorated like a Car and taken in procession. After the utsavam, the donor is given a complimentary present of a cloth and taken out with music.

3rd Grade	Rs.	650
4th Grade	Rs.	570
5th Grade	Rs.	525
* Kalyanotsavam	Rs.	305

Vahanams:

1.	Kalpavriksham (with Vajra-kavacham)	Rs.	61
2.	Sarvabhupala Vahanam (with Vajrakavacham)	,,	61
3.	Gold Garuda Vahanam	,,	42
4.	Silver do.	,,	21
5.	Kalpavriksham	,,	41
6.	Big Seshavahanam	,,	41
7.	Sarvabhupala Vahanam	,,	41
8.	Suryaprabha	,,	41
9.	Palaki	,,	41
10.	Pushpa Radham	,,	41
11.	Muthu Pandal	,,	41
12.	Hanumantha	,,	21
13.	Small Sesha	,,	21
14.	Chandraprabha	,,	21
15.	Elephant	,,	21
16.	Horse	,,	21
17.	Lion	,,	21
18.	Hamsa	,,	21
19.	Tirichi	,,	21

* *Kalyanotsavam* : This occupies about one and a half hours. After the Second Ghanta, the Utsavamurthies are installed in the Kalyanamantapam and a marriage ceremony with Homam and Mantras is gone through, the donor doing the marriage sankalpam. Naivedyams of Laddu, Vadai, Dosai and Appam are offered and the God and Goddesses are taken out in procession along the four streets. The temple functionaries get presents of cloths, dakshina etc, while the donor gets a complimentary present of thirty laddus, thirty appams, sixty dosais and three gangalams of prasadam.

Those presenting cloths, jewels, cows, etc., should pay a sum equal in value as vartana before the gifts can be accepted. Similarly those who wish to offer sugarcandy, fruits etc., as naivedyam to the God, and take them back as prasadam with them, have to pay into the treasury a sum equal in value to the articles presented for the naivedyam.*

The rates for the Goddess at Tiruchanur are as follows :—

	Rs.	As.	Ps.
Tulasi Archana	0	4	0
Kunkum do.	0	8	0
Sahasranama Archana	5	0	0
Garudavahanam	27	0	0
Elephant vahanam	21	0	0
Tirichi vahanam	8	8	0
Harathi	0	4	0
Panchamritabhishekam	1	8	0

The rates for Sri Govindarajaswami are the same as for the Tirumalai Temple ; but some of the functions observed on the Hill are not in vogue in this temple.

Those who pay for the above utsavams must buy Harthi tickets separately. For a particular vahanam there will be only one utsavam and those who have paid for that utsavam accompany the God during the procession on that vahanam. No separate utsavam for each ticket is done. If there is no scope for a procession round the streets owing to rain or any other cause, the God will be seated on the concerned vahanam in a mantapam in the temple itself and pilgrims will have to go round the God thrice, offer harathi, and depart, after receiving the usual blessings.

Note :—* This custom was introduced by renters so that their revenue may not be foregone, by pilgrims converting their gifts into kind for the exclusive use of the deity or themselves. It is strange that even this fee should now be collected.

This routine of the daily services has been the same from time immemorial. Some of the ancient festivals* appear to have now been cut out but the programme of the Brahmotsavam has remained more or less the same. The East India Company was renting the revenues of the temple from the Nawab of Arcot from about 1750 A. D. to 1801 A. D., when, it took the temple under its direct management. The accompanying English translation of a report in Maratta language obtained by "Narrain Rao," one of the assistants of Col. Mackenzie, in 1803 A. D. will be of interest as showing the temple routine, the manner of collecting fees from the pilgrims, "Parasha" as they are called by the temple people, and the role played by the Jiyangar and the Yekangies in the affairs of the temple, both religious and secular, at the commencement of the direct management by the company in 1801 A. D. The report betrays some anxiety to impress the superiority of the Numbee (Archaka) over the Jiyangar, as the latter only assists the Numbee, who actually performs the worship, offers Naivedyams and distributes the Thirtham and prasadams. The concluding paragraphs of the memoir are of peculiar interest for modern times, as the rigid scale of fees now enforced by the temple management, on all pilgrims, is giving room for much legitimate annoyance. It is extracted below for easy reference.

"Those who are inhabitants of the place never pay for these ceremonials; but this money is reaped from the Perasha-Loke, Devotees or Pilgrims who arrive from different places to visit the God; however of such as are in distressed circumstances and have not wherewith to pay, nothing is required; and they are

* See note III at page 36.

permitted to appear before the God etc., also all poor people; but from the rich and affluent they demand fixed sums and after paying it they permit them to go within.

The poor are not hindered from going up the Hill of Terumulla or from coming down; but the rich must get permission to go up the hill and if sometimes they continue to go up without order, they are stopt on coming down by the circar peons who watch the road and who will not permit them to go away without order.

Formerly 24 Doagannies were collected in the custom house from each pilgrim excepting Bramins, Jogees, Jungums, Byraggies and Dassries; but under the management of the honourable company this custom is abolished and 24 Doagannies are collected from each person indiscriminately."

NOTES.—(I)

A particular account of the daily ceremonies at the pagoda of Teroomulla or Tripetty.

From the Maratta Memoir obtained there by Narrain Rao (1803)

Mackenzie Collections: General: Dravida sthala Mahatyams Manuscript Translations & Reports Vol. XVI – 50 ·· P. 500 (a) to (d)

Daily early in the morning the Pallehwar comes to the mutt of the Great Jeeyengar (Senior Jeeyangar) and taking the key from the Mutt, he goes to the Pagoda and opens the door of the Voogranum by the order of the great Jeeyangar and delivers out the rice, grain, ghee, oil and other articles of daily expenditure to the Swayampakee (or cooks) ordering them to perform (prepare) the Tullaghee (Taligai) (that is to dress victuals) for the offering to the God: then leaving the Numbee (the performer of worship) and circar peons in the Pagoda the Pullavar goes to the Mutt, where the chief Jeeyengar is waiting after having bathed and

performed the ceremony of supplication; the Gollavar then acquaints him that all are come to the Pagoda and that he is expected there; whereupon the Jeeyengar takes the key and accompanied by the Gollavar he goes round the Pagoda and prostrating himself, after receiving the Totee-Tirtham, he makes prostration to Bhushagar, thence going into the presence of God and first prostrating himself, he opens the door, attended by the Numbee, the Jeeyengar (Junior) and circar people who had locked it up on the former day. Then the Jeeyengar, the numbee and Gollavar go into the Garba-Graham bearing lights, shut the door named Bhungar Vakalee and afterwards enter into the Garbha-Goody. Examining the lamp of Brumma Deva and other lamps-they put Ghee and lamp thread into the said lamps and taking off the flowers that are placed upon the cot, carry the brass images named Sreenivasamoortee within; they then examine the jewels, vessels etc., and perform the Aratee to the God; they then give the Teerta-Gundha-Abhayastum to the chief Jeeyengar: and when he goes within, they give the Teertum and sandal to the Gollar who accompanied him and holding a Deevettee or torch. On this, ordering the door of the Bhungar-Vakalee to be opened, the Gollar opens the said door; after which the wardrobe keeper comes and removes the cloths and pillows of the cot to the usual place. The Acharya-Purusha or learned men and the chanters of prayers, then come within with circar people and perform the Mungal aratee to God according to custom, after which they offer milk to the God.

The Great Jeeyengar then prepares the Mungalartee and gives it into the hands of the Numbee or Keepers of the temple; but if the Jeeyengar is not on the hill of Teeroomulla, then the Yakangee people who have no families or his assistant prepares it and gives it to the Numbee, who receives it in his hand and holds a light before the God. Thereupon they give the Teertum to Jeeyengar and thereafter they give the Teertum to the rest of the persons present and desire them all to go out; after this they bring the Teertum and clean out the Gurbhagraha or sacred apartment and place the water of the Akasa Ganga and the water of Bungar-Bavee in their places within; then the Jeeyangar also places the perfumes within and brings flowers etc. from the flower garden.

They then begin the celebration of Teeravaradana or worship and after it is over they place the Tomala or string of flowers around the neck of the God and with sandle and other perfumes perform the Aratee (or ceremony of waving camphor) before the God. This shevah or service to the God, they call Tomala-Shevah.

Thereafter they bring the Idol Sreenivass Moorthi without to the Rungamuntup for the Calavoo (Koluvu) or celebration of the daily service and place him upon a chair and after placing lamps etc. before him they perform the act of Teeravaradana or Adoration to him of chanting a portion of the Vedam. They then perform the Yatra-Dhan or Donation to the Brahmins when the procession takes place and repeat before him the calendar of the day. The Goomastah of the Great Jeeyengar then enters the account of expenses and the remainder of the canikee or Nuzzer and the offerings for Vahan or carriage to the God and clothes, jewels and whatever is offered to the God by the people since the morning of the last day until the doors of the Pagodas are locked up at night; he also takes down in writing an account of the behaviour of the people noticing whether they were more or less devout. All the accounts are read in the presence of Sreenivass Moorthi, as well as accounts of the expenditure of rice and other articles of food which is deposited in the store-house.

The Taalapwak-walleh (or singers) then chant the hymns and while they perform the Mungal-Aratee (or waving of lighted camphor before the God) they play music of various kinds; at that time they also hold up the chatree or umbrella, the chamaram and the looking glass to the God in like manner as these acts of respect are shown to the Rajah; and after distributing the prasadam to all present they carry Sreenivass Moorthi within; they then perform the Sahastranama-Archana or ceremony of reciting in honour of Venkatachalapatty one thousand different names scattering flowers in the meantime and then offer food to the God, the Numbee should be near the God at this time; they then ring the first bell; they next call Jeeyengar within, and begin to pray the Prabandam Anasoondaun and distribute the Teertam and Shadagopa to the people; they give the Allavattam or Fan of the God to the people according to the custom.

After this they call in the Parasha (or Pilgrims) who come from different countries; when the Parasha offer the Canikee, a large silver cup is brought from the Gurba-Graham and Yakangee taking the silver cup in his hand, receives the Canikee (or offerings) in the presence of God, in presence of Circar peons, the Jeeyangar's peons and company's sepoys, peons and Gollahs. Meantime the Parputtagar, seristadar and a Goomasta of the Jeeyangar remain without the door of the Bungar-Vakilee and after seeing the amount of the Canikee of the Parasha they send them into the Pagoda. A copara is also built at the Runga-mundapam in which the Parasha deposit the offerings and there the circar peons attend. After the pilgrims have paid their adorations to the God, they send them all out and then go into the presence of the God and having adorned the Deity, the Yakangee takes the canikee in a silver cup and going to the Bungar Vakilee door with the circar peons, the Seristadar and the Goomastha of the Jeeyengar and the Stulla Curnum take account of the Canikee and tie up the money in a bag and seal it with the Hanoomunt Moodra of the Jeeyengar's and also affixing the Sreenivass Moodra of the circar, the Yakangee then delivers it into the hands of the Pullavar and after sealing the canikee received in the former night, they deposit it within with what they received now; both canikees being tied up in two bags they write a note upon them and send the bags of money with a letter advising whatever had passed in the last day to the Amuldar of Teruputty.

Thereafter the circar peons and Yakangee search without, all who were near the cup during the collection of the money; and also search the Numbees, the Swayampakee etc. in the door of the Bungar-Vakilee and whoever went within. Afterwards at 2 o'clock they close the Gurbha Graha and perform Teeravaradana or worship and at the second hour they shut the door and offer food to the God; and after offering the Teerta-Prasadam they return to their houses but the circar peons remain in the Pagoda watching with great care.

All who are desirous to pay their adoration to the God must stay in the Runga Muntapam till they are permitted to go within; Pilgrims that bring considerable offerings are brought by the circar peons and Yakangee of the Jeeyengars in the afore-

said manner to perform their adoration to the God and whatever Canikee they design for the God; if any of the are desirous of seeing the God on ascending his they pay according to the number of Vahanums ex their desire excepting that of the Chariot and never two Pagodas for seating the God upon the Garooda.

Considerable distinguished or wealthy persons us for having the God exhibited upon these Vahanams, a for the Annual Ceremony, and they exhibit all the c except the Dwajarohun, and Chariot Procession, and as they choose, so often the God is carried in Processi evening surrounded with numerous lights and lamps on Night.

It is the duty of the Gollar to go to the Mutt of Jeeyengar and announce to him the arrival of the Pilgr Pagoda then the Jeeyengar and Numbee having bathed to the Pagoda attended by the Circar Peons and sepoys the Gates. They examine and search on all sides and place near the presence of the God and bring Tirumu water to bathe the God: thereafter the Great Jeeyengs the place where the garlands of flowers are made u a piece of cloth to his nose and carries the Flowers in upon his head: he then delivers the perfumes etc. into of the Numbee, who offers them to the God. If any ha or Decorations are required for the God, it is the off Great Jeeyangar, to put it on with his own hand, and must lay hands on it. If the Great Jeeyangar is absent the way the Junior Jeeyangar ought to officiate in like r his absence. The four or five Yakangees who preside t alone perform the duties assigned to them and no other; God is daily bathed one of them takes the perfumes s them with his own hand to the God in the Gurbha-Good ever comes from without should be taken by the Jeeyer his own hand, who gives it into the hand of the Numbe God; when any Pilgrim offers Canikee the Yakang receive the offering in his own hand and deposit it in cup; it is his office also to take out the Teeravabhar precious jewels of the God and deliver them into the ha Numbee.



[*Photo by: Mr. V. N Shama Rao.*

Swami Pushkarini with the Temple in the background.



[*Photo by: Mr. V. N. Shama Rao.*

Temple – Front View.

These are the regulations at this place:

After the God is decorated with flowers and garlands which is called Tomala-Shevah and after smoking camphor is offered to the God, the Jeeyengar and Adhepeka, who recite the Vedum, all come without and begin to read the Prabundum, when they offer food to the God, Bells should be rung; also the place should be cleaned a second time and food offered to the God, the bells ringing meantime; thereafter they offer food to the Gods of the several Pagodas that are around the Great Temple.

After food is offered to the Great God, the Teertum according to the Regulations is given; the Pilgrims are then introduced within as was done in the morning and in like manner they collect the Canikee and tying it in a Bag and sealing it they deposit it within; thereafter they clean the place which is in the presence of the God and put on the Rangolee or . . . and place him on the cot, lay bed cloths upon it; the Tallapaak at the time chanting or singing and drums of different kinds beating, all the circar people standing; they then shut the doors and the milk, fruits, betel nut etc. which was offered to the God is then distributed to the.....They then come out and shut the door; the Great Jeeyengar and Numbee go within with lights and look about on all sides and having noticed the vessels and other ornaments of Gold and Silver, seal up the Door and come out. Thereafter the Parputtigar, Peons, Great Jeeyengar, saneedeewalla (those who are constantly staying near the God,) the Gollawar and sepoys who watch at the door of the Bungar Vakalee, shut the door and they seal it with the Hanoomunt Moodra of the Jeeyengar and Sreenivass Moodra of the circar and then go to their houses.

At the great gate named *Toar Pada Cavalee* * the Mamundoor People watch and a guard of Government sepoys is stationed there; no one must stay within the Pagoda or near the sides when the doors are locked; the keys are lodged in the Mutt of the Jeeyengar whose business it is to keep them carefully. In this manner the daily ceremonies go on.

On Thursday they take off the jewels of the God; in the afternoon the Great Jeeyangar brings flowers accompanied by

* Turpu Padi Kavali (Eastern Entrance Gopuram).

tomtoms beating and array the God in garlands of flowers in manner of a Robe and other ceremonies are also performed as well as the Daily ceremony.

The next day on Friday morning they offer food to the God as before and afterwards bring flowers and other perfumes from different places. Formerly abundance of perfumes were allowed to the God, but at present very little is allowed. Then the other articles necessary for bathing are taken out and the Great Jeeyengar carries them into the Gurbha-Goody accompanied by the circar Peons and first washes the God with milk, he then washes him with Aukasha Gunga water, then with saffron etc. and lastly with pure water which is called Teertum and which is then given to the people according to the regulations; the remaining Teertum is left in the care of the circar people who dispose of it to the Pilgrims and all who came to worship the God, for money.

After bathing the God with water, they wipe the God with a cloth and offer civet ointment and fine camphor and mark him on the forehead with the Terunamam with musk and fine camphor and array him in a robe and ornament him with jewels, they then present lighted camphor.

Thereafter they bathe the Image of the Goddess in like manner as that of the God and lay the Devee on the breast of the God as before, and again show lighted camphor to the God; thereafter all come out and they clean the place which is in the presence of the God; the Jeeyengar then goes to the room where the flowers are made up and then brings the Tomala and having adorned the Image they put the Tomala and offer food to the God; they then bring all the people within and offer them Teerta (the water in which the God has been washed) and Shadagopa according to their regulations.

The canikee (or offerings) of the former day as well as that of this day are then tied up in a bag and given into the hand of the Pullavar with a letter in which whatever had passed in the last night is written; and the Moodeep (or money Bag) is transmitted with the letter to the Amuldar of Teruputty.

The Canikee (of offerings) which are deposited in the Copa (or . . .) which is at the Runga Muntapum without, tl door of the Bungar-Vakalee is sent to Teruputty once a month.

All the pilgrims who came to worship the God and who ma offerings according to their ability are permitted to go with after paying their money; also from those who go daily worship the God they collect money on the occasion of putting c him the flowers, and also on the occasion of bathing, and whe they offer food to the God, then they pay money, and when th God goes in procession to the Glass Chamber then they pay, ar if they want to seat the God upon the Vahanum they must al pay what money is usually required and whatever money the pay, whether 100 pagodas or 120 Rupees, or 60 Rupees f bathing the God on Friday etc., so much effect shall the offerin have; they must pay one Rupee for presenting camphor ligl before the God; and also they must pay for the visitation whe the God is seated upon the cot.

Those who are inhabitants of the place never pay for thes ceremonials; but this money is reaped from the Perasha-Lok Devotees or Pilgrims who arrive from different places to visit th God, however of such as are in distressed circumstances and hav not wherewith to pay, nothing is required; and they ar permitted to appear before the God etc., also all poor people, bu from the rich and affluent they demand fixed sums and afte paying it they permit them to go within.

The poor are not hindered from going up the Hill o Terumulla or from coming down; but the rich must get per mission to go up the hill and if sometimes they continue to go u without order, they are stopt on coming down by the circar peon who watch the road and who will not permit them to go awa without order.

Formerly 24 Doagannies * were collected in the custon house from each pilgrim excepting Bramins, Jogees, Jungums Byraggies and Dassries; but under the management of th honourable company this custom is abolished and 24 Doagannie re collected from each person indiscriminately.

* Duggani = 2 pies.

NOTE—(II)

A Particular Account of the Puncha Moortee or Five Images which are in the Stulum of Sree Venkatachellaputty

1. Sree Venkatachella Putty, the first Image of Bhugwant or God.
2. The Image of Malaypa, which comes out for the annual ceremonies also named voochava-bare.
3. The Image of Sreeneevas Moortee which is bathed daily and reclines upon a couch, he has also two other names Shyana-bare and Stapana-bare.
4. The Image of Colavoo (Kaluvu) Sreeneevas Moortee which is daily bathed and sits in the Runga Mantapum to enquire into affairs, he is named Colavoo bare.
5. The Image of Vengada Toravar which is brought out at day break once yearly on the day of counseeka Dwadesee and is carried again into the Pagoda before sunrise.

These five Images are representations of Bhugwant or God and no difference exists between them.

(Meckenzie Collections Manuscripts Translations and Reports Vol. XVI—51 page 501).

NOTE—(III)

Yadast or Memoir of the Veeshasha Oochavum or Extraordinary Ceremonies performed yearly at the Devastan of Teroomallee in the Tirupetty Tallook

Vol. XVI Mackenzie collection General-Dravida Stalla Mahatyams 1—page 501).

1. Aunavaree Oochavum (Anivarastanam).
2. Vara-Letchmee Vratum.
3. Sravana Pourneemah
4. Gocoolastamee Oochava or Ceremonies performed on the Birthday of Kistnaswamy.

5.	Vootala Teeroonala.	Ceremonies representing Kistnaswamy breaking down the Butter and Tyre Pots of the Gopis suspended by cords from the roof of the house.
6.	Ganesha Chatoorty.	Ceremonies on the birthday of Ganesha.
7.	Ananta Chatoordasee.	Ceremonies performed in honour of Vistnoo in the month of Alpissee on the 14th of Skookla Putchem.
8.	Deepavelli Oochava.	Ceremonies performed on the Festival of Deepavelly.
9.	Causika Dwadasee.	
10.	Swamy Pooshkurnee Bharalatanva.	Ceremonies of filling up the sacred Pool of Swamy Pooshkurnee on a stated day.
11.	Carteeka Pourneemah.	Lamp ceremonies performed in the month of Carteeka at the full moon.
12.	Chacra Teerta Oochava.	When the Swamy is carried in procession to the sacred Pool of Chacra-Teerta once a year on the day of Mookootee.
13.	Danoor Masa Pooja.	When the God is worshipped at day break for the whole month of 30 days.
14.	Teroovadana Oochava.	Ceremonies performed for 25 days in the month of Margali.
15.	Premacalaha Oochava (Pranayakalaha)	Ceremonies representing a pleasant quarrel between the God and the Goddess.
16.	Tunni Ramdda Oochava.	Ceremonies performed in the sacred Pool of Teravadan-Teerta on the last day of the Teeroovadana (No. 14).
17.	Mookotee Oochava.	Ceremonies performed on the day of Mookotee.
18.	Sancarantee Oochava.	

* Items 2 & 6 are purely Smartha Vritams. Few Vaishnavas seem to serve them.

19.	Rama Kistan Teerta Mookotee.	
20.	Rutha Sapatamee Oochava (Radha Saptami).	Ceremonies performed on the day of Rutha Saptamee.
21.	Sivaratri Chatra Paalaka.	Ceremonies perfomed to the Chatra Paalaka or Guardians of the Holy Place.
22.	Covil Allawar Teeroomunjana.	In the month of Pungoonee when sandal powder is rubbed over the Davool or Temples in the sunnadee or presence of the God.
23.	Sumvacharadee Oochava.	Ceremony on the commencement of the New Year.
24.	Sree Ram-Nowmee Oochava.	Ceremonies on the birthday of Sree Ram.
25.	Bhashagar Oochava.	Ceremonies for nine days in honour of Bhashagar.
26.	Chaitra massa Neet Oochavum	Daily ceremonies for the whole month of Chaitra.
27.	Vassunt-Oochavum.	Ceremonies performed in the month of Vyshaka.
28.	Narasimha Jayentee Oochavum.	Ceremonies on the birthday of Narasimha.

Chapter IV

THE PURANIC STORY OF THE ORIGIN OF THE SHRINE AND ITS SPIRITUAL SIGNIFICANCE

According to the accompanying account (Sewal-e-Jawab) which in all essentials follows the account in Venkatachalamahatyam*, Seshachalam is a part of Mount "Meru"; in a dispute between Adisesha and Vayu, a portion of the mountain, so much of it as was held by one of his thousand hoods, was blown away and deposited here; Adisesha at the desire of the Lord came here and laid himself out in the form of a mountain to accommodate Him during his stay here.

When Sri Maha Vishnu was lying on his serpent couch in Vaikunta, Sage Bhrigu kicked at the chest of the God to test whether he really was the embodiment of Sathvaguna. The God came out of the test successfully but the Goddess got enraged at the slight put upon her and left her spouse and came down to earth to do penance. The God followed in search of her. It was then that he came to Venkatachalam. He was directed by a voice to do penance at Tiruchanur; and he acted

* There is no direct account of the temple as Sthalapuranam. What goes by the name of Venkatachalamahatyam is said to be an extract from ten puranas namely Varaha, Padma, Garuda, Brahmanda, Markandeya, Bhavishyotara, Skanda, Aditya, Vamana and Brahma puranas and Seshadharma. It consists of a variety of topics not regularly connected with the origin and the development of the shrine. We get more information in it of the various Thirthams and their merit in removing diseases and sins and their associations with great saints and Gods.

Not all the extracts are traceable in the editions of the concerned puranas now available.

accordingly and obtained her. While resting on the Venkatachalam hills he fell in love with Sri Padmavati, the daughter of Akasa Raja of Narayanavanam and married her. The brother of Akasa Raja was Tondaman Chakravarti.*

* "A local manuscript says that this king (Adondai) was here succeeded by his lineal descendants Sundama Raja, Surasira Raja and Narayana Raja. In Mithila lived a king named Govasambana Raja, who visited Tirupati and prayed the God to allow him to rule over the surrounding country. He was referred to Narayana Raja, great grandson of Tondaman Chakravarthi, who gave him half his kingdom with Narayanavanam as its capital. Govasambana Raja had four sons, Venkata Raja, Ubajala Raja, Akasa Raja and Mitravarama Raja. The son of the last, Akasa Raja, obtained the kingdom, and his daughter married the Tirupati God. His son Vasambana Raja being childless the kingdom went to his uncle Venkata Raja, who was succeeded lineally by Sundu Raja, Akanasana Raja, Parakruti Raja, Adrika Raja, Malutha Raja, Vikata Raja and Ribanada Raja. In the days of the last named the kingdom was conquered and the Ramaraja Raja dynasty followed.

What dynasty this was seems uncertain but it is known that at Narayanavanam 11 Kings of the Yadava line ruled, being perhaps Kurumbas who succeeded in recovering a portion of their lost territory. They gave way to the Vijayanagar Kings. The legend narrated of Akasarazu, the adoptive father of Padmavati, the wife of Venkatesvaraswami of Tirupati, is this: Being without issue, he resolved to perform a 'Putrakameshti yagam' in conformity with the rules of the sastras, and while ploughing with a golden plough, the land now covered by the waterspread of the big drinking tank west of Narayanavanam, he turned up a golden lotus, in the petals of which lay a most beautiful golden-hued female infant. Carrying her to his wise men, the Raja learned that the child was the incarnation of Lakshmi, and he therefore had her nurtured with care and brought her up as his daughter, calling her Padmavati, 'the lotus born.' He performed his yagam and begot a son. After Padmavati had grown up, Venkatesvaraswami of Tirupati came hunting in the forest and

According to Varahapurana extract in the Venkatachalamahatyam, however, Tondaman belonged to Chandravamsa and was the son of Suvira. His mother was Nandini. He married Padma, daughter of a Pandya. He was led by a parrot, while hunting, to the hut of a Veda (Irula Huntsman) chief who introduced him to Venkatesa whom he worshipped with offerings of Tinai (Panicum Italicum) flour and honey. The God was under a (Srivriksha) Bilva tree. On his return, he worshipped Renukadevi who was in an Ant-hill and offered her animal sacrifices. The Goddess blessed that he would soon acquire a kingdom near about the locality, which would thenceforward be named after him. Later on, Varahaswami appeared before him in a dream and asked him to build the Prakara walls and told him that the building of Vimana and other structures would be done by one of his successors, Narayana Raja. He then did accordingly and founded the town of Pallavapura (Conjeevaram).

The puranic story of the God having appeared here in the twenty-eighth Yuga before the present Kaliyuga and the Bhrigu-myth of the Goddess coming down to

fell desperately in love with her. Negotiations were completed, and money for the marriage being borrowed from Kubera, it was celebrated at Narayanavanam with great pomp. At Akasarazu's request the swami consented to reside at Narayanavanam and a temple was built for him and his consort, where he is worshipped as Kallianavenkatesvara, or Venkatesvara married." North Arcot District Manual by A. F. Cox, Volume II, pp. 380–381.

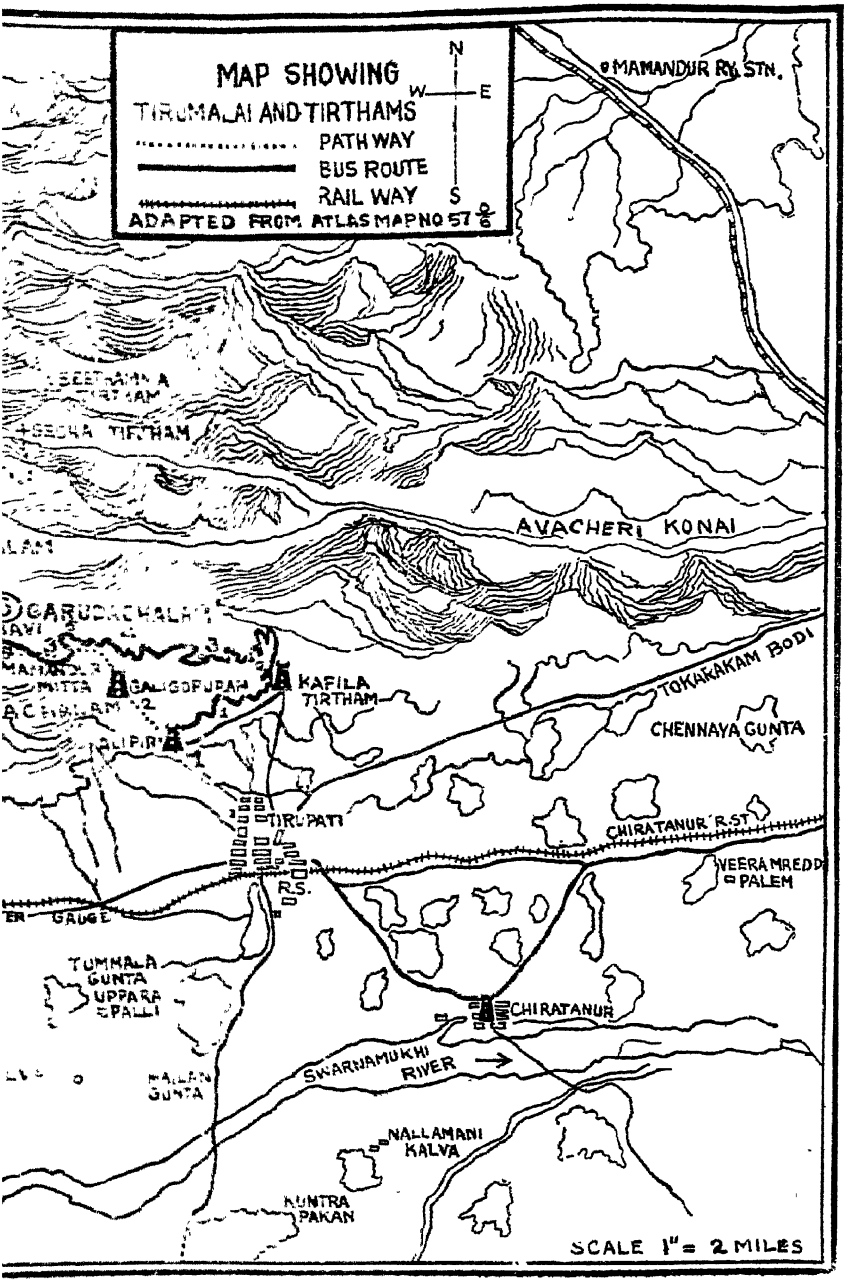
Note: None of the kings in this account have been identified in the inscriptions or elsewhere. The name of the wife of Akasa Raja and mother of Padmavati is given as "Dharani Devi" "Earth Queen". The geneological list of kings would appear to be fictitious.

the Earth would appear to be a picturesque version of the story of Creation. The unmanifested Brahman in the static state is conceived of as Narayana lying on water (consciousness) with Lakshmi (Prakriti) seated on his chest, on a serpent couch (Eternity or time rolled under him); the creative impulse is supplied by Rishi Bhrigu and Lakshmi or Shakti (Prakriti) emerges from Brahman as creative activity. The reunion of Lakshmi and the God would seem to indicate the immanence of Brahman in the Creation, which is a form of His manifestation Thus the legend would appear to suggest that the birth of Ego "Aham" in the unmanifested Brahman is the origin of the creation of the universe of name and form and with the extinction of the Ego sense, the identity of the individual soul and the Brahman is realised.*

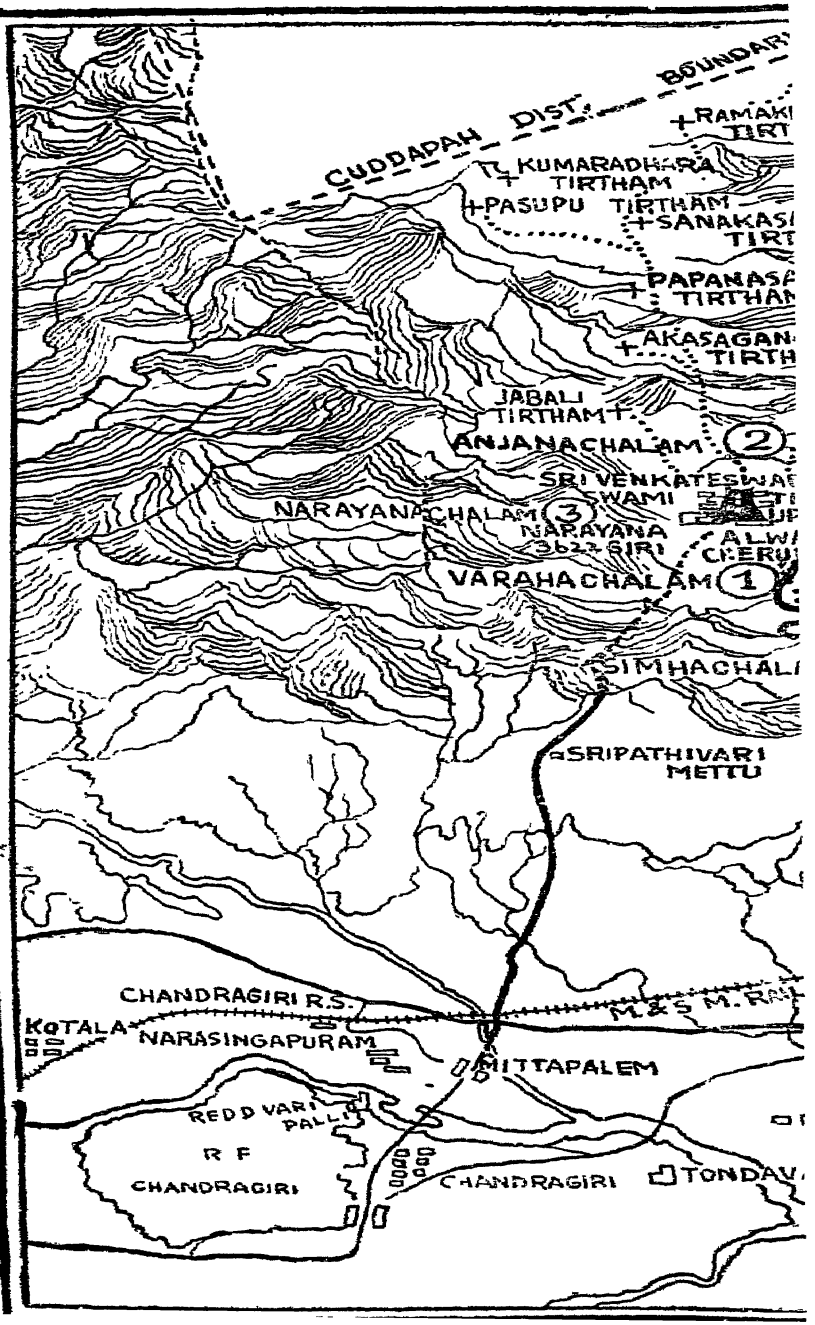
Similarly the story of Adisesha conceding victory to Vayu, resulting in a portion of Meru being blown over here and forming the mountain range, would appear to suggest the conquest (or awakening) of Kundalini through Pranayama or Vayu; *i.e.*, the attainment of self-realization through Yoga. The vertebral

* "In the transcendental quiescent Brahman (Paramatma) there is neither Sabda, Artha nor Pratyaya. There is therefore neither name (Nama) nor form (Rupa); in this infinite calm there arises a metaphysical point of stress or Bindu or Ghanibuta Shakti which stirs forth as the multiple forces of the universe. This energising is the cause of and as the Jivatma is, the world experiencewith its duality of subject and object. This play of Shakti takes place in the Ether of Consciousness (Chidakasa) in such a way that the latter is neither effaced nor affected when the second condition appears, which last is that of both Transcendence and Immanence." (Garland of letters by Sir John Woodroff, Page 2)

The God was not affected by Bhrigu's action but only the Goddess left her seat on the chest of the God. "She went out from Him and produced these creatures (Sa Asmad Apakramat sa imah prajah asrijata) and again re-entered Him (Sa Prajapatim eva punah pravishat)." (Ibid, Page 6.)



Drawn by Swamy


CUDDAPAH DIST.
BOUNDARY
RAMAKI TIRT
KUMARADHARA TIRTHAM
PASUPU TIRTHAM
SANAKASI TIRT
PAPANASA TIRTHAM
AKASAGAN TIRTH
JABALI TIRTHAM
ANJANACHALAM (2)
SRI VENKATESWARA SWAMI
NARAYANACHALAM (3)
NARAYANA GIRI
ALWAR CHERU
VARAHACHALAM (1)
SIMHACHALAM
SRIPATHIVARI METTU
CHANDRAGIRI R.S.
M & S M. RAI
KOTALA
NARASINGAPURAM
MITTAPALEM
REDDIVARI PALLI
R F
CHANDRAGIRI
CHANDRAGIRI
TONDAV

column is designated as Merudanda in yogic language; the Kundalini Shakti is said to be lying dormant, coiled up like a serpent, at the base of the spinal column. Through Pranayama this shakti is awakened and made to ascend through the six chakras or centres of psychic power and reach the Sahasrara Chakra, when self illumination is attained. Venkatachalamahatyam also has a chapter on Ashtanga-yoga.

The name of the range, Meru, coupled with the idea of a coiled serpent and the sacred number Seven conveys symbolism of great Tantric significance. According to Tantra Shastra "the Universe consists of a single Maha Brahmanda or Grand Universe and numberless Brihat Brahmandas or Great Universes. From the seven planes of the Grand Universe are evolved great worlds, each one of which is also divided into seven planes. Each planet, each satellite, each star and every living entity in each world is itself a world in miniature and has within it seven centres of power and the seven presiding deities." According to Nirvana Tantra "the Brihat Brahmanda or Macrocosm has its own Meru or vertebral column extending longitudinally from top to bottom. At the top is located the Satyaloka and at bottom the Avichi. Between the Satyaloka and Avichi lie the other six lokas (worlds or regions) and the other six nether regions, altogether making up14 Bhuvanas."

A glance at the map of the mountain range will show that there is a locality called Avacherikona, due east of the Tirumalai temple. It is the dried up bed of a river, which starting at a place North-West of temple, takes a bend near the temple and after taking an easterly course, *i.e.*, flowing longitudinally, reaches the bottom. According to the Sawal-e-jawab account, Hathiram Bavaji took this route to descend from the

hill and the God in the guise of a Brahmin followe him upto Avacherikona entreating him to remain o. the hill. It is here that the God showed his Divin Form to Bavaji and blessed him. Avacheri (Kona) i undoubtedly a corruption of Avichi. Thus the localit of the temple represents the top, Satyaloka and Avich the bottom and "between these two lie the other si: lokas and the six nether regions, altogether making up 1. Bhuvanas." The mountain range thus represents th Macrocosm, the temple, with its six gates leading to th holy of holies, the Microcosm, and the God, th Brahman in the Saguna aspect, worshipped also as th Divine Mother, from whom the Universe is evolved an by whom it is pervaded.

"Cosmic Kundalini is vehicled by trigunaprakriti (Satva, Rajas and Tamas) in Satyaloka where she is called Mahakundali and by eight primary divisions (earth, water, fire air, ether, manas (sensorium), buddhi (mind) and ahamkara (I amness) of prakriti in Bhurloka where she is called Kula-Kundali. The highest and the lowest of the centres of Power are both guarded by Kundalini in her two aspects. As in the Muladhara so in the Sahasrarapadma she covers the cleft in the male power with her hood. She coils up round the Universe with Her tail within Her mouth having inverted triangles within Her coils."*

* "The Nallamalais (Sri Parvata) lie for most part in the Kurnool District about 70 miles of their length being in it. They extend southward into the Cuddappah District as far as the Pennar and northward into the Hyderabad territory beyond the Kistna river. The range is generally of a north and south system of elevations and depressions. The average height is not more than 2000 feet above the sea, the valleys on either side being from 600 to 800 feet. *Towards the north the hills become arranged concentrically around the great dome shaped mountain nucleus of Iswarakuppam* (between 3000 to 3500 feet.)"

The Narayanadri, at the back of the shrine and overhanging it, would seem to supply the hood and the circular coils of the mountain with the several gopuras would indicate the coiled Kundalini with the inverted triangles. It would thus appear that the mountain itself was considered to be of the form of Meru or Sri Chakra [1] representing the form of Bala or Durga.[2] The Venkatachalamahatyam also calls the range "Sri Sailam" giving its derivation as the abode of "Sri". The sanskrit name of Tirupati is Sripuram. The Northern Indian devotees unconnected with the local sectarian claims, still call the God Balaji, "The Revered Bala".

[1] The worship of Yantra is common throughout India; perhaps the most important of the Yantras is the Srichakra. It generally consists of forty three triangles intersectingly arranged in a plane and may also be produced in three other different forms called Meru, Kailasa and Bhu. The Meru is the same as the plane Srichakra in plan; but the various triangles surrounding the innermost one are piled one over another in different planes so that the whole becomes shaped in the form of a pyramid. The topmost layer of the Meru contains a circle called the Bindu. If associated with eight Matrika deities the Meru becomes the Kailasa; and with the Vasini deities it becomes the Bhu. Yantra is so called because it subdues (Niyantrana) lust, anger and other faults of the Jiva and the suffering caused thereby.

[2] The Goddess Devi is worshipped in many forms. She is variously named, sometimes according to her imagined age; thus when she is worshipped as an year old baby she is known by the name of Sandhya; if she is conceived to be two years old, she is called Saraswathi; if of seven years of age, Chandika; if of eight years of age, Sambhavi; if of nine years of age, Durga or Bala; if of ten years of age, Gowri; if thirteen, Mahalakshmi and if sixteen, Lalitha. Sometimes she is named in recognition of one or other of her heroic achievements. For instance she is called Mahishasuramardhani. (*Hindu Iconography Vol. I, Part II pages* 330 *and* 332 *by Gopinadha Rao*).

Even so late as 1801 A.D. Mr. Stratton in his report on the shrine observes thus: "In such great veneration is even the hill held that pilgrims resorting to the Pagoda prostrate themselves to the ground on first getting a sight of the range of hills connected with it." The sawal-e-jawab account records that in ancient times, except those that had services to perform at the shrine, none was permitted to ascend the hill and that the mere sight of the hill itself was considered sufficient to confer merit. Even now pilgrims going to the shrine take a preliminary bath and wear newly washed or wet clothes before commencing the ascent. These traditions clearly indicate that the ancients considered the range itself to be the form of Meruchakra which is a form of the Devi.

The gopuram on the top of the first hill is now called Gali-gopuram or 'wind swept tower'. This, in fact, would convey no meaning as all towers built on mountain slopes are wind swept. The word Gali appears to be a corruption of the word Kali; In one of the rooms on the side of this gopuram there is a shrine dedicated to Kali. The Tamil letter 'Ka' was apparently transliterated into Telugu as 'Ga'. A Bairagi officiates as the priest. The name perhaps indicates that it is the tower of the temple of Kali on the mountain. Again, at the corners of the top of the central Vimana of Sri Venkatesa are placed figures of couchant lions, the vehicle and emblem of Shakti. No other Vishnu temple is known to bear these emblems on its Vimana.

Though the image of the God appears to have undergone alterations with the changing faiths of those who had control over the shrine, during the long period of its history, there are some traces of the Shakti aspect

in the image such as "*Simhalālātam*", *jata* and "*Srichakram on the crown*". *In the ritual followed in the worship of the deity, even now, the Shakti aspect receives greater emphasis than the Vishnu aspect.* The drapery around the image, consisting of a silk cloth thirtytwo cubits in length, is arranged in the style of a saree and a sword hangs from the girdle. The two arms are adorned with Nagabharana, an ornament even now much prized by Hindu women; a ball of richly perfumed sandal paste adorns the chest; On Thursdays the image is invested with a robe of flowers; A bath is given on Fridays, a special item of which, is water mixed with turmeric which Hindu women use. The bath is immediately followed by an offering of Vadai (Black gram cake) and payasam (a preparation of milk and sugar); After the bath is concluded and the image is decked, the doors are closed and it is stated, in the Devastanam guide, that the gold emblems of the Goddesses worn by the God as a necklace now receive abhishekam in secret; there seems to be no need for secrecy as the God's Abhishekam takes place openly. It is learnt that a Meruchakra which is embedded under the pedestal of Bhogasrinivasamurti (silver) image, is worshipped secretly, soon after abhishekam of the main image, by an Archaka who has received special Diksha in the ritual. For one month in the year, the deity is worshipped with Bilva leaves. The Namam itself is a line drawn vertically with musk (kasturi) which is a favourite article of toilet with women. Above all, the principal festival of the deity, Brahmotsavam, is celebrated during Dasara, a festival specially and exclusively devoted to the worship of the Devi. All Vishnu images are installed close to the wall behind them, whereas saivite images are installed in the centre of the Sanctum. This is a peculiarity which can

be verified in any ancient Vishnu temple; the image of Sri Venkatesvara is in the centre of the Sanctum. There is no outlet to drain off the Abhishekam water from the room. The height of the central Vimana is not proportionate to the height of the image. This clearly shows, that the original floor of the room was lower and that the present floor has been built at some height from the original floor leaving some room in between the two floors. This room may perhaps hold the key to the early history of the temple and its former Gods. There are several other such items of detail extending even to the manner of waving lights before the deity which point to Shakti ritual, but the details furnished above are sufficient to indicate the Shakti aspect of the deity. However much it may be attempted to explain away these facts, there is no other temple dedicated to Vishnu with this architectural, iconographic and ritualistic combination. The markings of Srivatsa on the right chest, near the shoulder, instead of on the middle of the left chest, as is usual with Vishnu images, betrays hasty and imperfect execution by later artists. Only Jain images have Srivatsa marking on the right chest. The vaishnavas state that the image was without Shanka or Chakra and that Sri Ramanuja invested the deity with these emblems in gold. A representation of the figure of Durga with the two upper hands carrying Shanka and Chakra, the lower right hand in the Varada pose (pointing to the earth) and the lower left hand in the Katyavalimbita (holding the hip) pose is found in the Shiva temple at Tiruvanjikalam, about one and a half miles from Cranganore, in Malabar District. To Sri Ramanuja goes the credit of converting this virgin Goddess into a God and discovering for the God a wife in Padmavati who was the

daughter of Akasa Raja (sky king) and Dharanidevi (the earth queen). In a book on Srivaishnavism, the tradition is recorded that Ramanuja is considered the father-in-law of the God, as he had gifted Padmavati to him and the Acharya of the God, as he had invested him with Shanka and Chakra, (Samasranam).

> " He (Ramanuja) installed the figure of Alarmelmangai Nachiyar, on the chest of the Lord of Tiruvengadam and provided him with Shanka Chakra. Ramanuja therefore became the father-in-law as well as the Acharya of the God."
>
> —*Sri Vaishnavism*—(Tamil) by A. Ranganatha Mudaliar, Chapter on Biographical sketches of Vaishnava Saints. P. 223 on Ramanuja.

" திருவேங்கட முடையானுக்கு வக்ஷஸ்தலத்தில் அலர்மேல் மங்கை நாச்சியாரை எழுந்தருளப்பண்ணி திருவாழி திருச் சங்கு சாதித்தருளினார் - ஆதலால் அவனுக்கு மாமனரும், ஆசார்யருமாயினர்—"

Doctor S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar contends that Balaji means Balakrishna, but very rarely is Balakrishna found without Balarama, a fact which can very easily be verified from the shrine of Krishna in the present Padmavati temple at Tiruchanur.

The lone image on the hill, without any Parivara Devatas, with full cheeks and a trace of a smile at the corners of the small mouth, is the mountain Goddess Durga or Bala. The writer of Tholkappiam when describing the limits of the Tamil country as bounded on the north by Vengadam and the south by Cape Comorin was suggesting apparently that these two

frontiers were guarded by the two Kumaris (Virgin Goddesses).*

Sri Vidyaranya in his treatise entitled, "Srividyarnava Tantra",† gives a line of seventy-one teachers through which he was initiated into the lore of Maha-Tripurasundari. Kapila comes first and Sankara last, in the line. Bhrigu is the sixth of the series. The close association of these prominent Srividya gurus with the shrine is another pointer to the shrine having been originally that of Devi. There is a tradition that Kapila was going daily through a cave in the Kapileswara temple to the hill for worshipping the image on the hill. The Bhrigu story narrated already, may have also reference to a method of self realization discovered by Bhrigu. Sankara's connection with the shrine was more direct. He installed a crystal lingam in the shrine and changed the name of the presiding God as Sri Venkatesvara, after the lingam installed by him. Where Shakti is the presiding deity a small lingam is usually installed near it.

* Please see note on Sri Parvata or Sri Sailam at page 44. The Shakti had an important place under the name of Madhavai or Bhramaramba on the mountain. cf. Sacrifices to Bhramaramba and the sacrifices in Tirupati during Gangajatara, which has apparently reference to the shrine on the hill.

‡ "Srividyarnava Tantra" by Ramachandra Kak and Harabatta Sastri—Kashmir 1932 Edition—Introduction by M. S. Kaul.

Chapter V

SRI SANKARACHARYA AND THE TIRUMALAI SHRINE

A book entitled "Biographical Sketches of Deccan Poets, being memoirs of the lives of several eminent bards, both Ancient and Modern who have flourished in different provinces of the Indian Peninsula compiled from authentic documents by Cavelly Venkata Ramasami, Head Translator and pandit in the Literary and Antiquarian Department" published in Calcutta in 1829 and dedicated to Lord William Bentinck, Governor-General and reprinted by Messrs. Higginbotham & Co. in 1888, is a rare volume of peculiar interest. Cavelly Ramasami was one of the assistants of Col. Colin-Mackenzie and was employed in translating manuscripts. In this book he gives sketches of the lives of 149 poets among whom Sri Sankaracharya is also included; in fact, he leads the rest, his being the first sketch in the series. He refers to the visit of Sankara to the Tirumalai shrine. It will be useful to read it in his own words. "The following account of the life and actions of this great legislator is principally taken from a book written in the Sanskrit dialect called Sankara Vijaya or the Tour of Sankarachari. All the wonderful and supernatural performances related in the work above named are as implicitly believed by orthodox Hindus as are the miracles of Moses and of Christ mentioned in the Old and New Testaments by the generality of the Christians. It would therefore be presumptuous and perhaps impious in me to modify or alter one particle of the materials from which I compile this biography of a prophet and sage, who flourished in

an age so remote as to claim antiquity prior to the Christian Era. I have given the records as I received them and find them acknowledged by the most learned men who have written on Hindu theology and leave it to the candour of the English reader to whom this work is principally addressed to use their own judgment in giving credit to the miraculous adventures of the Hindu sage in question." Then he gives an account of his birth, his discipleship under "Govendayeti guru," and the usual account of his obtaining permission of his mother to become a sanyasi, his confutation of the Bouddhas before Himasitala, his visit to Kanchi and then to Tirupati. "He afterwards consecrated an image of the goddess Kamakshi on a copper pedestal and engraved mysterious syllables in the different arches and rooms according to the rules laid down in the Adharva Vede and composed eight sanskrit verses in praise of the goddess, which are entitled Kamakshi-Astaka. He also established a Lingam at Kanchi and dedicated it to Yaka Amareswar since which time the place is called 'Siva-Kanchi'. Sankarachari then went to Tirupati where he was again engaged in religious controversy and overcame the most learned pandits in disputation and erected a 'Crystal Lingam' as the image of *Venkateswar* and denominated it *Chandramaleswar* or the 'crescent-crowned God'; the temple was in a conspicuous position on a hill *where the doctrine of there being no distinction between Seva and Veshnu was taught.* He directed his disciples to collect contributions from every pilgrim that was present at the procession of the chariot or car of Venkatesvar and that food should be supplied to indigent visitors and votaries. The above mentioned sage composed 27 verses in honour of Chandramaleswar and Venkateswar, and

entitled them *Nakshatramala* and he left directions *that the Lingam should be worshipped one month with BELVA leaves.* From this place Sankarachari proceeded to Benares ".

This is an interesting account in more ways than one. In the first place it confirms the tradition in the Sawal-e-jawab account about Sankara's visit to the temple (please see answer to question No. 30) : " There is a tradition handed down by elders, that once upon a time when Sri Sankaracharya visited the shrine he installed a Yantra and Akarshanachakram near the Padmapitam of the god; on that account valuable gifts are offered at the shrine ".

We learn from this biography that the name of Sri Venkatesvara was first applied to the presiding deity by Sankara, after the name of the Crystal Lingam established by him in the shrine. There is no reference to the existence of a temple in this account, which refers only to the place having been a centre where the non-difference between Siva and Vishnu was being taught. Could it be that Sankara revived worship in the temple after consecrating the images or that he established altogether a new shrine giving concrete expression to his own Advaita doctrine, for which the centre supplied the necessary environment and atmosphere, by advocating the identity of the two principal gods, Siva and Vishnu? We may not be far wrong if we guess that the latter is more probable, judging from the appearance of the deity and the tradition of the temple coming down from time immemorial. The image of Sri Venkatesvara combines the aspects of Shakti, Brahma, Siva, Vishnu and a multitude of other gods and is the fruition of the unique and successful effort of the great Agamic seer to visualise and objectively present to

posterity the subjective conception of the Absolute as the only reality containing within Himself all the experience of Gods and the universe. In the Bhavishyottara Puranam Extract contained in the Venkatachala-mahatyam, Lord Shiva expounds to Parvati, Venkatesa Rahasyam, according to which Sri Venkatesvara is the embodiment of the Turiya Brahman.

अनंतार्कतडिच्चंद्रमंडलोपरि मंडलम् ॥
दुर्निरीक्ष्यं दुराधर्षं दुःसहं देवतादृशाम् ॥
अचिन्त्यं तेजसा व्याप्तमप्रमेयमगोचरम् ॥
छादितं मायया विष्णोर्ज्वलितं सर्वतोमुखम् ॥
मध्ये तुरीयब्रह्माख्यं स्वप्रकाशं तदेव सत् ॥
स्वशक्तिगुणवैचित्र्याद्विसृजद्विश्वमव्ययम् ॥
उपादानं निमित्तं च कारणं जगतः सतः ॥
ऊर्णनाभेस्तंतुनेव विहारस्तस्य मायया ॥
मुलप्रकृतिसंगात्तत्कार्यत्वेनापि संगतम् ॥
तत्तद्वारा बहिर्व्यक्तं ततस्तत्त्रिविधं कृतम् ॥
तत्तत्कर्मानुगुण्येन भाति स्थूलमहत्कृशम् ॥
विषयग्रहणे पूर्वं दृश्यते हि तदेव सत् ॥
विदुषामहमुल्लेखपरामर्शावभासकम् ॥
तदुपाधिभिरच्छिन्नं महत्स्थूलं तथा कृशम् ॥
स्थूलसूक्ष्मच्छिद्रघटाद्यथोद्गच्छति दीपभा ॥
तथैव ब्रह्मणस्तेजो भातिभिन्नमुपाधिभिः ॥
उपाधित्रयमेतत्तु च्छित्वा भक्तिमतां नृणाम् ॥
एकमेवाद्वितीयं तत्त्रिशून्यं भाति जृंभितम् ॥
मेघच्छिद्राणि संछिद्य भानुतेज इवोत्थितम् ॥
नानात्वकल्पनायुक्तं विश्वप्रकृतिवर्जितम् ॥
नेति नेतीतिच श्रुत्या बोधितं यत्परं पदम् ॥
परिच्छेत्तुमशक्यत्वात्स्वप्रकाशं तदेव सत् ॥

सत्यं ज्ञानमनाद्यंतमानंदममृतोत्थितम् ॥
नित्यशुद्धप्रबुद्धात्मस्वरूपं वागगोचरम् ॥
सर्वतो व्याप्तमात्मानं निर्मलं निष्कलं शिवम् ॥
शून्याशून्यफलं हित्वा प्रज्ञानं ब्रह्मजृंभितम् ॥
भावाभावविनिर्मुक्तं द्वैताद्वैतविवर्जितम् ॥
सच्चिदानंदसांद्राब्धिपरिपूर्णमनामयम् ॥
सत्यचिद्घनसूक्ष्माग्र्यमखंडमकुतोभयम् ॥
कैवल्यपदसायुज्यपरानंदपदप्रदम् ॥

"It will be seen that He is no other than the Turiya Brahman (Supreme Brahman) which the Upanishads propound as formless, illimitable, uncognisable by the sensory organs, beyond the ken of the physical senses. He is the One, Secondless luminary on whom the universe in its manifold form has been superimposed and which the Shruti explains as "not this", "not this".

It is Existence, Self-illumined, and Illimitable. It is the 'Atman', the Ever Existent, All Pervasive, Pure, Auspicious and Full, ever in the form of Eternal and True knowledge, Beginningless and Endless and of Bliss or Ananda emanating from Amrita or Immortality." (Bhavisyottara Puranam—Venkatachala Mahatmya—chapter 80.)

In the Saval-e-javab account also in answer to question 18 as to the real form of Sri Venkatesvara it is declared "Sri Venkatesvara is the embodiment of the Absolute Effulgence". In answer to question 19, with the changes in time were there any changes in the form of Lord Venkatesvara, it is repeated that "Actually Venkatesvara is the form of the native 'Divine Effulgence'. To Brahma and others who meditated on him in certain ages in the form bearing Shanka and Chakra the Lord appeared in that form. Moreover the Lord is always changing. His grace is such that he appears to His devotees in the form in which they adore Him. He assumes various shapes and forms suited to His

mysterious purposes of creation. He manifests Himself in diverse forms and in one form". No better conception of the Absolute can be given. The Upanishadic conception is also that the Supreme Being is a combination of all Saguna forms conceivable by the devotees and that He manifests Himself to them in the particular form in which the devotees choose to meditate on Him. "The Upanishads recognised only one spirit-almighty, infinite, eternal, incomprehensible, self-existent, the creator, preserver and destroyer of the world. He is the light, lord and life of the Universe, one without a second, and the sole object of worship and adoration. The half gods of the Veda die and the true God arrives. "How many Gods are there really, O Yajnavalkya?" "One" he said. "Now answer us a further question: Agni, Vayu, Aditya, Kala (time), which is breath (Prana), Anna(food), Brahma, Rudra, Vishnu. Thus do some meditate on him, some on another. Say which of these is the best for us?" and he said to them: "These are but the chief manifestations of the highest, the immortal, the incorporeal Brahman: Brahman indeed is all this, and a man may meditate on, worship or discard also those which are its manifestations". (Maitrāyani Upanishad, see also Mundaka and Taittiriya). "The visible infinite (Objective) and the invisible infinite (Subjective) are taken up into the spiritual whole" (Philosophy of Upanishads (page 20), by Sir S. Radakrishnan). The extract from the Bhavishyottarapurana expresses the same idea as Venkatesvara Rahasyam.

It is stated that Sankara established Ekambaresvara and consecrated an image of the Goddess Kamakshi on a copper pedestal and fixed a Chakra at Conjeevaram. His transactions in Tirupati are similar; consecration of a Linga and installation of a Chakra.

He was engaged in Tirupati in disputations with learned pandits prior to going up the hill and overcame them. His activities in these two religious centres would appear to indicate that he consecrated these shrines according to the vedic Agama introducing yantras and mantras appropriate to the deities concerned and arranged for their worship by brahmin priests versed in the Agama Shastras, replacing non-agamic forms of worship by sects other than brahmins; the disputation with the pandits was presumably to overcome their prejudice against serving as temple priests.

It would also appear that Sankara was responsible for the introduction of worship of male gods in preference to female gods and subordinating the female deities to the male deities. Thus, this book throws invaluable light on this dark period of the religious history of this region and this shrine in particular.

The non-sectarian and the universal character of the shrine finds emphasis in the Sawal-e-jawab account also. In answer to question 28 it is stated "In olden days Agastya and other sages worshipped this Lord as Siva using the special forms of worship prescribed for Siva. Later on when Tondaman prayed to this Lord to give him victory over his rival in war, it is said, that this Lord lent him his Shanka and Chakra and was without these emblems; He was then worshipped as God Subrahmania; archana with bilva leaves and adornment of the Lord with the Nagabarana came into vogue since then. Latterly Sri Ramanuja who was a follower of Vaishnavism invested the God with gold emblems denoting Shanka and Chakra and arranged for worship of the God according to the rites of Vaikhanasa Agama. It was then ordained by the Lord Himself that Nagabharana should continue as before and that

He should be worshipped with Bilva leaves during the (Tamil) month of Marghazhi. Moreover from time immemorial it has been declared that as the shrine is equally sacred to all the three religious sects (Advaita, Dvaita and Visishtadvaita) there is sanction for all forms of worship on the hill."

An inscription on the walls of Nammalvar's shrine, near Kapila Tirtham states "a Muni lives here who has attained Divyagnanam who with compassion initiates men in Brahma-Vidya". *[No. 58, Devasthanam Inscription—Volume I.]*

From the above evidence it will be clear that the temple maintained its ancient non-sectarian character till 1801 A. D. when the Government assumed the management. It will be shown later how scrupulously the tradition was maintained by them till 1843 A. D. when they passed on the management to the Mahants. Whatever their shortcomings, to their credit it must be said that, the Mahants religiously kept up the ancient usages and traditions of the temple uninfluenced by the local vested interests till 1936 A. D., when a new Devastanam Act came into force and relieved them from the active control of the temple. How much we wish we could say the same thing of the present management!

THE MESSAGE OF THE SHRINE

Some idea of the symbology suggested by the mountain range and the shrine has been given. The human body is a microcosm; the spinal column is its meru and the fourteen Bhuvanas of the external universe have their corresponding centres in spinal column and above it; they are designated chakras or centres of power; they are seven in number; starting from the base of the spinal column, in the ascending order, are Mūlādhāra, Swādiṣṭāna. Maṅipuraka, Anāhata, Vis'uddha, Ājñā and Sahasrāra; they denote also grades of consciousness and are presided over by male and female principles of the Kundalini Shakti. The seeker rouses this power by Pranayama, meditation and concentration and realises his identity with the one Supreme Brahman, on whom the Universe is superimposed. All the Hindu Sadhanas, Vedic and Agamic, are designed to achieve the extinction of Ahamkara and realisation of the Atman. "Whether on the path of Pravritti (desire) or Nivritti (Cessation from desire) the worship of one Brahman is the burthen of the Tantra and the object of that worship is the liberation of the individual soul from eternally recurring misery, meeting Atma with Atma by dissolution of the Karmic body. To achieve this end, concentration, meditation and communion are essential. But an object is necessary upon which to concentrate the mind. The Universal or all-pervading form of Brahman functioning in undivided homogeneous effulgence through the waking, dreaming and slumbering states of being is scarcely such

an object as the mind can grasp. Pratikas (images) are used as its substitute. The Avatāra forms, yantras and human forms in special pujah are the best forms Images are fashioned out of Avatara forms; when by dint of Sadhana divine effulgence is cognised in a Pratika, then is it that the Sadhaka's vision opens to see the universal form. If the Sādhaka's sādhanā be intense and high, Brahman or Divine Mother manifests Her Divine Self in the image, which for the time being glows with Divine life".

"Indeed the whole life of a Sādhaka is a sacrifice; he must efface his own personality and Ahamkāra (I am ness) and dedicating all his thoughts, deeds and speech to the Divine Mother who resides in full glory in his heart and is the real cogniser of the body" (*Introduction to Principles of Tantra Vol. II C-XXVIII and C-XXIX Woodroff*).

The same idea is brought out in the following passage in a separate introduction to the same book.

"The special virtue of Tantra lies in its mode of Sadhana. It is neither mere worship (Upasana) nor prayer. It is not lamenting or contrition or repentence before the deity. It is the Sadhana, which is the union of the Prakriti and Purusha. The Sadhana, which joins the male principle and the mother element within the body and strives to make the attributed attributeless. That which is in me and that for which I am (This consciousness is ever present in me) is spread like butter in milk throughout the created world of moving and unmoving things, through the gross and the subtle, the conscious and the unconscious, through all. It is the object of Tantric Sadhana to merge that self principle (Svarāt) into universal (Virāt). The Sadhana is to be

performed through awakening the Kundalini and piercing the six Chakras. This is not mere philosophy—a mere attempt to ponder on the husks of words—but something which is to be done in a thoroughly practical manner. The Tantra has made the yoga system of Patanjali easily practicable and has combined with it the Tantric rituals and ceremonial observances (Karma Kanda). That is why the Tantric system of Sadhana has been adopted by all religions in India. The Tantra contains nothing like idolatry or 'worship of the Doll'. The Tantra repeatedly says that one has to adore the deity to become deity (Devata) himself. The Ishta Devata is the very self of Atman and not separate from it. He is the receptacle of all, yet HE is not contained in anything for He is the great witness, the Eternal Purusha.

The Tantric worship is in and by the mind. The less subtle form of Tantric worship is that of Yantra. Form is born of Yantra. Form is made manifest by Japa and awakened by Mantra shakti. Tens of millions of beautiful forms of the Mother bloom forth in the heaven of the heart of Siddha Purusha. Devotees and aspirants of lower order of competency (Nymna Adhikāri) under directions of the Guru adore the Great Maya by making manifest (to themselves) one of various forms, which can only be seen by Dhyāna (meditation). That is not a mere worship of the idol. If it were so, the image would not be thrown into water; no one in that case would be so irreverent as to sink the earthen image of Goddess into the water.

The Primordial Shakti is to be awakened by Bhava, by Dhyana, by Japa and by piercing the six Chakras. She is all will. No one can say when and how she shows Herself and to what Sadhaka".

The most important aspect of the Tantra worship (which is common to all Subdivisions of it, such as Vaidika, Shakta, Saiva, Vaighnasa and Pancharatra agamas) is that "It has no notion of some separate far-seeing God. It preaches no such doctrine in it as that God the Creator rules the Universe from heaven. In the eye of the Tantra the body of the Sadhaka is the Universe, the Autokratus (Atma shakti) is the desired (Ishta) and to be sought for (Sadhya) Deity (Devata) of the Sadhaka. The unfolding of the self power is to be brought about by self realisation (Atma Darsana), which is to be achieved through Sadhana Whoever realises his Self attains to Liberation (Mukti). Tantrikism in its real sense is nothing but vedic religion struggling with wonderful success to reassert itself amidst all those new problems of religious life and discipline, which later historical events and developments thrust upon it". —(*Sri Panchkori Bandyopadhyaya Introduction to Principles of Tantra. Woodroff*)

The above references are sufficient to show that what we worship in temples are not images but our crude substitutes for the ParaBrahman which we seek to discover in ourselves by externalised worship of what is within. To those who go to temples with this basic conviction there can be no distinction of Siva, Vishnu, Brahma or Shakti as all these are only powers of the consciousness within ourselves, at different levels of it, which point the way and lead us up to our goal, self-realization. The uniqueness of the shrine of Sri Venkatesvara consists in its being not connected with any of the incarnations of Vishnu or Siva or Shakti like other shrines which depict some incident in the story of the *Avatars* of these deities. The name of the God as "Sri Venkatesvara" (i.e.) 'Lord of the Venkata

Hill ' shows that the God Himself has no name or form or sex. Even the sectarian Vaishnavites admit that the image is of composite character, which they cannot equate with any specific form of Vishnu known to Iconography. The ritual adopted in the worship adds to their confusion. The difficulty grows more and more, when they try to analyse the Vishnu part of the Pratika (the symbol) of the one supreme consciousness, which their own Purana describes as the Turiya Brahman (i.e.) the Absolute realised in the highest consciousness described in yogic language as Niravarana Chaitanyam. The Venkatesa Rahasyam further describes the Turiya Brahman as that which the Upanishads propound as formless, illimitable, uncognizable by the physical senses, the one, secondless, effulgence, upon whom the universe in its manifold form has been superimposed, which the Sruti explains as "not this", "not this". We can here see the attempt to visualise the vedantic definition of Brahman as 'not this', 'not this' ('Neti' 'Neti') Not Siva, Not Vishnu, Not Shakti, Not Subrahmanya, but it is Existence, Self-illumined and Illimitable. It is the Atman, the Ever Existent, All Pervasive, Pure, Auspicious, and Full, ever in the form of Eternal and True knowledge, Beginningless and Endless and of Bliss or Ananda emanating from Amrita or Immortality, beyond the distinction of Dvaita and Advaita, *Satchitananda.*

The six hills which we descend from the temple represent the next six grades of consciousness in the descending order (viz.) (1) Sāvaraṇa Chaitanyam (2) Sākṣhi Chaitanyam (3) Antahkaraṇa-avachinna Chaitanyam (4) Antahkaraṇa vrittyavachchinna Chaitanyam (5) Indriāvachchinna Chaitanyam and (6) Vishaya vachchinna Chaitanyam, making in all seven states of consciousness These are again equated

to states of human consciousness, which are termed Avastas, the first to Sanmaya or Atitotita, the second to Turiyatita, the third to Turiya, the fourth to Sushupti (slumbering), the fifth to Swapna (Dream state) and the sixth and the seventh to Jagarat (waking state). The ascent of the consciousness from the last to the first is the path to Mukti or release from bondage. The expression Turiya always denotes Brahman. In the marcrocosm, the worlds (or consciousness) above Bhu, Bhuvah and Suvah denote the Turiya region. In the microcosm as represented in the human body the plexes from the Muladhara upto the Ajnā (the Sixth), that is, from the base of the spinal column upto the root of the nose, are divided into three planes corresponding to Bhu, Bhuvah and Suvah and the planes above the Sixth are called Turīya Kūṭa. The human consciousness is also divided into the three corresponding lower planes of Jagarat, Swapna and Sushupti and the consciousness above this is called Turīyakūṭa consisting of Turīya, Turīyātīta and Atitotita. The Sadhaka who is able to dwell always in the region of Turīyakūṭa is called a Jeevanmukta or Videhamukta. There is correspondingly a Turiyakuta in the Srichakra and in the Gayatrimantra also. The practice or Sadhana differs according to the actual experience of different self realised sages but all the paths lead to the same goal. In the first three states of consciousness, mind and Buddhi act jointly. Sankalpa and Vikalpa are the attributes of the mind, while Buddhi determines and is the real enjoyer. When the mind and Buddhi take possession of the gross nadis, they work through the eyes and this state is called Jagarat (waking) consciousness. When mind and Buddhi withdraw themselves from the Indriyas and enter the subtle nadis, they work through the throat

centre. This state is called Swapna (Dream) consciousness. When they cease their activities both in the gross and in the subtle nadis and merge themselves in Tamas, which is also called Agnana, the state is called Sushupti consciousness. This is also called Samprasadavasta. In the two previous states, owing to the presence of the mind, pleasure and pain are experienced. In the Sushupti, as the mind is absent, there is no experience of pain. Hence it is called Samprasadavasta; but owing to the absence of Buddhi, the sense of pleasure is not experienced. This state is therefore called a state of ignorance.

In the Turiya, the Sadhaka concentrates on the Chitkala (Brahman) which is present in the Turiyakuta. This gives an inward turn to mind and Buddhi. The process is to merge the mind alone in the Chitkala, and separating the Buddhi, to enjoy the bliss of the experience. This state is said to resemble the state of sushupti, where the knowledge of the external world is not present but the pleasure of the communion with the chit swarupa in the Turiyakuta is alone experienced. The aim of Sadhana is to bring down this state of pleasure and happiness into the Jagarat (waking) consciousness also. This is the egoless state in which self realised sages like the sage of Arunachala are ever established. The Turiya consciousness is present in the three lower grades of consciousness also but not ordinarily cognized and experienced.

The sage of Arunachala explains the same quest in a simpler and more direct way. "The quest of the real Self consists in gathering together all the energies of body and mind by banishing all alien thoughts and then directing all those energies into a single current,

namely the resolve to find the answer to the questior 'Who am I?' The question may also take the form o 'Whence am I?' 'Who am I' means 'What is th truth of me?' 'Whence am I' means 'What is th source of the sense of self in the ego?' The source i this quest is to be understood not as some aborigina being in time, some remote ancestor or progenitor i evolution, nor as some being existing before the birt of the body, but as a present source. This ques is the one sure method of breaking the vicious circle of th three states; for it not only quietens the thinking mind but prevents it from falling asleep and thereby losing all consciousness; therefore it has been described a 'sleeping watchfully'. Neither in ordinary waking— when the mind wanders from thought to thought— nor in sleep—when even the basic consciousnes of 'I am' is submerged—can that vicious circle b overpassed; but for an instant of time in the passage o the mind from the vagrancy of waking to the utter still ness of sleep the consciousness attains its purity as th formless 'I am'; by the force of the resolve in thi quest the consciousness is reduced to and kept steadily in this formless state and by this the vicious circle i broken and the egoless state is won." The sage describe the method of the quest in the following manner: "Jus as one dives into a lake seeking a thing that has faller in, so should the seeker dive into the heart resolved t find wherefrom does rise the ego-sense, restraining speech and the vital breath.'—*Maha Yoga by 'Who* (*pp.* 68-69)

Compare Gita

> The Saint who shuts outside his placid Soul
> All touch of sense, letting no contact through;
> Whose quiet eyes gaze straight from fixed brows,

Whose outward breath and inward breath are drawn
Equal and slow through nostrils still and close;
That one—with organs, heart, and mind constrained,
Bent on deliverance, having put away
Passion, and fear, and rage;—hath, even now,
Obtained deliverance, ever and ever freed.
Yea! for he knows Me Who am He that heeds
The sacrifice and worship, God revealed;
And He who heeds not, being Lord of Worlds,
Lover of all that lives, God unrevealed,
Wherein who will shall find surety and shield!

(*Chapter V. The Song Celestial by Sir Edwin Arnold*)

The Bhrigu story relating to the descent of the Goddess to the Earth contains the secret and the design behind the conception of the shrine. Even the Goddess, the great Shakti, who eternally dwells on the breast of the Supreme had no place in Him, the moment she developed anger and Ahamkara (I am ness), she had to come down to Earth, do penance to get rid of her Ego sense and then seek entrance to her niche on His breast. This story clearly proclaims the message of the Supreme (Sri Venkatesvara) to humanity that they should conquer the Ego sense and establish themselves in the 'Egoless' state, so that they may become the very living Gods on earth and make a heaven of the Earth. The idea that the Ego sense is the real cause of the world and its division as self and not self, resulting in bondage is thus expressed in the teachings of Sri Ramana Maharshi. "When the thought of 'I' arises, then the whole world comes into being; when that thought ceases then there is no world at all. Thus it follows that the Ego is everything and if you get rid of it by finding the true self you are free of all the world". "There is no Ego in deep sleep but only in waking and in dreams, in these two states, the Ego arises in the form of the

thought 'I am this body', that is, first there is perce tion of a particular body, which is taken as the self a of other bodies and objects, which are all distinguished not self. There is no Ego in sleep, because there is body then, therefore there is no non-self, either, and world. This constant association of the Ego with body is a fact of great significance. By the separation the world into Self and not self we have two thoug 'I' and 'mine' and it is an elementary lesson religion and philosophy that these are the essence bondage".

The temple, the two villages of Chandragiri a Tirupati with the routes to the temple from these t villages, look like an inset picture of a sage in yogasa pose on the lofty and wide canvass of the mount range; the temple representing the head, the route fr Chandragiri representing the spinal column, t Tirupati route, the six lower chakras, the two villa sites representing the feet and the mountain range its standing for the Kundalini Shakti (Serpent power) the base of the spinal column or meru danda. T grand setting of the whole scene proclaims Infin Power and Infinite Grace and is replete with lo suggestions to us to cast off our pettiness and sorr born of the Ego sense and rise to our natural state, egoless state and establish ourselves in the unmi happiness of the Jivanmukta state. This is no call renounce the world but to remain in it as perfec beings without desire and fear.

Compare Gita:

"...But for whom
That darkness of the soul is chased by light,
Splendid and clear shines manifest the Truth
As if a sun of wisdom sprang to shed

Its beams of dawn. Him meditating still,
Him seeking, with Him blended, stayed on Him,
The souls illuminated take that road
Which hath no turning back—their sins flung off
By strength of faith. (Who will may have this Light;
Who hath it sees...")
'The world is overcome—aye! even here'
By such as fix their faith on Unity.
The sinless Brahma dwells in Unity,
And they in Brahma. Be not overglad
Attaining joy, and be not oversad
Encountering grief, but, stayed on Brahma, still
Constant let each abide! The sage whose soul
Holds off from outer contacts, in himself
Finds bliss; to Brahma joined by piety,
His spirit tastes eternal peace. The joys
Springing from sense-life are but quickening wombs
Which breed sure griefs; those joys begin and end!
The wise mind takes no pleasure, Kunti's Son!
In such as those! But if a man shall learn,
Even while he lives and bears his body's chain,
To master lust and anger, he is blest!
He is the *Yukta*; he hath happiness,
Contentment, light, within: his life is merged
In Brahma's life; he doth Nirvana touch!
Thus go the Rishis unto rest, who dwell
With sins effaced, with doubts at end, with hearts
Governed and calm. Glad in all good they live
Nigh to the peace of God; and all those live
Who pass their days exempt from greed and wrath,
Subduing self and senses, knowing the Soul!'

—(*The Song Celestial—Chapter V—Sir Edwin Arnold*)

The upanishads, the Tantras and all Hindu scriptures prescribe only disciplines or sadhanas to achieve this End.

They mostly advocate the path of Yoga, which is an exact (Spiritual) science and the truth can be realised by this path without the seeker subscribing to any of the

recognised creeds but subject only to the condition that he should possess the "Godly Endowment". "He that would find the truth must have eschewed wrong doing, subdued his passions and attained mental harmony." The path of yoga however estimable is not within the competence of all. Unless one starts on the quest early in life, the path is beset with many pitfalls. As the next best way, the path of Bhakti is prescribed. Bhakti is complete Self-surrender to God, which is said to give the same result. The best exposition of the way of self-surrender is furnished by the sage of Arunachala.

"All that one needs to do is to surrender oneself to the Source of oneself. There is no need to get confused by calling that Source God and assuming that it is somewhere outside. One's source is within oneself. To that Source the surrender should be made; that is, *one should seek that Source and by the very force of that search merge into it.* The question 'Where is the source' can arise only if it be thought that the Self is different from the Source. If the ego becomes merged into its Source, then there is no ego, no individual soul; that is, the seeker becomes one with the Source. That being the case, where is surrendering? Who is to surrender and to whom? And what is there to be surrendered? This loss of individuality—which even now does not really exist—is devotion, wisdom and the quest.

"The Vaishnava saint Nammazhvar sang as follows:

'Not knowing the truth of myself I was deluded by the ideas I and mine; but when I came to know myself I knew also that Thou art both I and mine.' So true devotion is to know oneself aright; and this is consistent with the creed of the Vaishnavas. But their

traditional belief is expressed as follows : the souls are the bodies of God ; these must become pure and then must surrender themselves to Him ; thus they go to His heaven and there enjoy Him ! They contend that if the soul becomes God there will be no enjoyment, just as one cannot taste sugar if he himself become sugar ; therefore they want to be separate from God and enjoy Him. But what they mean by purification is extinction of egoism. Is God inert like sugar ? If the surrender be real and complete, how can there be any separateness ?

" Not only that, they believe that remaining separate in His heaven they are to serve Him and adore Him. Is God deceived by this talk of service ? Does He care for their service ? Would not, He, being pure consciousness, retort : ' who are you apart from Me ? '

" They say that if the individual soul be surrendered to God, then the soul is a body of God and the latter is the Self of that soul body ; the individual soul is called the little self and God the great Self. Can there be a self of a self ? How many selves can there be ? What really is the Self ? That alone is the Self, which remains over after the elimination of all that is not self—the body, the mind and so on ; whatever is eliminated in this process is non-self. If it be said that in this process the remainder is the little self, and that God is the Self of that little self, it only means that the process of elimination has not been carried out to the very end as it should be ; if it be so carried out, then it will be seen that the little self is not the true Self—that the great Self is alone the true Self ; the remainder in the completed process is the great Self ; it follows that they have got hold of something not the real Self.

" All this confusion is due to the many meanings of the word 'atma', which means the 'self'; it means the body, the senses, the vital force, the mind, the fancy, the hypothetical little self and the real great Self; thus it is possible to describe the little self as the body of the great self. But the verse of the Gita, 'I am the Self residing in the hearts of all', makes it clear that God is himself the real Self in all; it is not there said that there is a self of a self! "

" To think of yourself as something separate from the Source, namely God, is itself theft; for by this you appropriate what belongs to God. If you want to remain separate even after being made pure and to enjoy God, it is wholesale theft. Does He not know all this? "

" God is existence plus the all; the world is existence plus variety; the soul is existence plus individuality; in all three existence is the one reality; it is pure consciousness; the all, the variety and the individual are unreal and should be eliminated. "

The sage's answer to the question: Are forms real? is of utmost importance in settling the ever present controversy about the form of God. " This question is part of the bigger question, whether the world is real; and the answer to it must be the same for all forms, including the forms of God that are seen by devotees, and which for that reason they maintain to be perfectly real. On this question the sage tells us: " If you see with the gross eye, then yourself, the world and God are all clothed in gross forms; if you see with the mind as your eye then these have subtle forms; but if the real Self becomes the eye then there are no forms; form or formlessness depends on state of the seer." We understand from this that forms

are seen only because of the ego-sense, by which the seer thinks he is with form." (*Maha Yoga—By 'Who'*)

The experience of this holiest of the holy living sages, who is in constant communion with the Absolute should be of greater value to us than all the books and arguments based on self interest. We are reminded of the questions put by Dharma, in the form of a crane, to Yudhishtra and his answers:

"What is the road to heaven?" the crane asked.
"Truthfulness"
"How does a man find Happiness?"
"Through right conduct."
"What must be subdued in order to escape grief?"
"His mind."
"When is a man loved?"
"When he is without vanity."
"Of all the world's wonders, which is the most wonderful?"
"That no man though he sees others dying all around him believes that he himself will die."
"How does one reach true religion?"
"Not by argument, not by scriptures and doctrines. They cannot help. The path to religion is trodden by the Saints."*

Dharma was satisfied with this answer and it should satisfy us also. Sri Ramana Maharshi's experience confirms the teachings of the scriptures that God, Soul and World are one Unity.

To attempt to limit the infinite, to ascribe a specific form to the formless is avidya or ignorance.

To sum up, the mountain range with the temple has been shown to represent the Meru or the Srichakra, which is in itself a gross representation of the Universe with its seven pairs of presiding deities: Adisesha stands for the cosmic power, Maha or Kula

* Gita by Swami Prabhavananda—Chap. XIV.

Kundalini; the seven hills represent the seven worlds, Bhu, Bhuvah, Suvah, Mahah, Janah, Tapah and Satyam, and also, the states of consciousness present in them; they are located in the Meru. These are also the Saptavyahritis of the Gayatri Mantra, which is also a mode of Atma Sadhana by mantra power. Similarly the seven hills represent the seven chakras, Muladhara, Svadistana, Manipura, Anahata, Vishuddha, Ajna and Sahasrara, which are located in the human body in the spinal column which is the Meru Danda of the body. The Kundalini Shakti is at the base of the spinal column (as represented by the mountain range) in the form of a coiled serpent.

The outlook of the average man is materialistic and he identifies himself with the experience of the objective world and wrongly imagines himself as enjoying and sorrowing. He identifies himself with the body and the mind. The knowledge of Seer, Seen and Sight or knower, knowledge and known, is called Triputi. The village Tirupati stands for the material world as well as the condition of the seeker with the objective experience of the world. The way to realisation of his true state, which is called Mukti, is to seek the Kundalini Shakti within himself, worship Her in the gross form of Yantra or Gayatri Mantra, or by self-surrender or by Yoga or by gnana or by all the methods combined and imploring Her to help him to rise through the several states of consciousness to the highest consciousness the Turiya State, and there to dissolve the Triputi, and awake to the realisation that the Self in him and the Self of the Universe is one consciousness, variously designated as the Divine Mother, Para Siva, Mahavishnu or Brahman.

Thus in this Shrine is effected the synthesis of all disciplines, faiths and creeds. The same synthesis is achieved in the Gayatri Mantra and the Bhagavad Gita which are sacred to all sects of Hindus, Dvaita, Visistadvaita and Advaita. Though the Gayatri Mantra describes the indwelling spirit in the Sun-circle, Savita, as Narayana and the Gita doctrine is expounded by Sri Krishna, an avatar of Vishnu, neither the Gayatri Mantra nor the Gita are considered to be the exclusive property of Srivaishnavas. They are on the other hand, the chief forces that bind the Vedic Sects and proclaim their unity, in spite of their apparent divisions. Similarly, though the Vaishnavas are now in possession, the temple has always been held to be equally sacred to all the three Sects of Hindus as dedicated to the one Supreme Being in the form of "Existence" (SAT).

Lord Krishna declares in the Gita.

"For I am Brahman
Within this body
Life immortal
That shall not perish:
I am the Truth
And the Joy for ever."

Who realises this truth realises *Sri Venkatesvara.**

* Cf. Tirumular's Tirumandirum-Tenth Tirumurai

வெங்கடமாதனி வெதாந்த கூத்தனி
வெங்கடத்துள்ளே விளையாடும் நந்தியை
வெங்கட மென்றே விரதறியாதவர்
தாங்களும் மாயுவீர் தாமறியாரே.

The human body which is continually scorched by the animal heat is compared to a burning ground where Siva is eternally dancing. He is also addressed as "Vedanta kuttan," that is, reveller in Vedanta and "Venkatanadha" the Lord of venkata hill. Those who do not realise the Siva who is continually dancing in their own body are ignorant of the true way of winning Eternal life. (vem=that which is scorched, gadam = human body)

PART II

EARLY HISTORY AND TRANSFER OF THE TEMPLE TO SRI VAISHNAVAS

CHAPTER I

EARLY HISTORICAL TRADITIONS—YADAVA KINGS

The earliest inscription in the Tirupati Devastanam collection is found in the Tiruchanur Temple and is dated 830 A. D. in the reign of Vijia Danti Vikrama Varman, of the later Pallava Kings, who reigned just prior to the final collapse of the Pallava power. These inscriptions are followed up by those of successive Chola and Pandyan Kings up to 1220 A D., Yadava chiefs from 1191 A. D. to 1360 A. D and the Vijianagar Kings and their subordinates from 1359 A.D. to 1684 A.D. They reveal the gradual ascent of the fortunes of the temple from the time of the Yadava Kings until the climax of its splendour and wealth is reached under Sri Krishnadevaraya; among his successors, Achutadevaraya and Venkatapathiraya appear to have been great devotees of the God.

Apart from the dry bones of lithic records, which mention only the setting up of lamps or provision for food offerings to the God, no authentic historical records of the temple have been maintained. The early inscriptions refer to the God as "Tiruvengadamudayan" or the Lord of the sacred hill of Vengadam and do not specifically describe him as Siva or Vishnu. In the catalogue of the Mackenzie collections, several manuscripts, entitled, Historical memoir of Kings who reigned

at Chandragiri, Historical account of Tirupati and Historical account of Venkatesvara Swami are mentioned but the manuscripts generally contain a list of Kings who reigned since the beginning of the Kaliyuga. A few manuscripts contain some notes against a few kings. The peculiar feature of these lists is that they do not contain names of the Pallava kings who had held sway over this locality until the Chola conquest. The omission is probably due to the fact that all these accounts were collected by Col. Colin Mackenzie's assistants from the Vaishnava Stanikas, of the temples at Sri Perumbadur and Tirupati, whose interest in chronology begins only with Ramanuja and the Chola kings. Even here, the names of Chola and Yadava kings and their dates widely differ in the different lists. The Stalamahatyams, though there are more than a dozen texts in Sanskrit, Tamil and Telugu, contain little historical details though some of them contain a few items of local interest. The following abstract of the English translation of one of these Mahatyams will be a fair specimen of their contents—Manuscript Translations and Reports vol. XVI–item 48—pp. 490 *a* to *d*—translated by Subba Rao in 1804 A.D. from an account obtained from the stanikas of Sri Perambadur temple.

First we have the story to explain why Vishnu made Venkatachelam his permanent residence: why Adisesha is associated with the hill; then the story of Dasaratha's penance and the story of the Ramayana, then we are told that Shanka Maharaja built the temple to the God; next comes the story [redacted] a brahmin Gopinatha who was reborn as Tondaman Chakravarthi, Ruler of Kalahasti at the beginning of Kaliyuga. The Tirupati hill was then a waste and a yenadi (vedar) used to grow 'Sanva' Tinai (Tamil) Korra (Telugu) [Panicum

Italicum] there, which a white boar came and devoured and then took refuge in a snake hole. The yenadi struck at it but the boar told him to inform the Rajah that he was no other than, God Venkatesvara; the cows of the Raja came and poured their milk on the snake hole. The herdsman who observed this suddenly fell down in a swoon. Finally the God appeared to Tondaman in a dream and told him to build a temple. Tondaman who resided in Tondamanadu, ruling the kingdom of Kalahasti, built a temple and instituted the annual Brahmostsavam for ten days to which he invited the kings of all countries, who offered caniki of jewels, cloths, elephants, horses etc. with perfumes to the God. It is expressly stated that "All unbelievers, 'mussalmen' etc. are not permitted to ascend the hill but stay below the mountain of Seshachalla purvatta and bathe in the pool of Panchama Teerta; after visiting the foot of the Swami, they then offer caniki or Nuzzer according to their means. So it is mentioned in the Bhoogola Puranam."

Then comes the story of the God's marriage to Akasaraja's daughter Padmavati, the civil war between Akasaraja's son "Vasoo" and Akasaraja's brother Tondaman to whom the God lent his weapons Shanka and Chakra; "*since Sri Venkatesvara gave his Shank and Chackram to Tondaman Chakravarti, the people pay him the same worship as is observed to Seevoo (Siva); thus it passed for sometime till about 1000 years ago, in the time of Royels that Sri Bhashyagar of the Vishnu religion was incarnated at Sri Perambadur, [redacted] is near Kanchi, from where he proceeded to Tirupati and declared that the place belonged to Vishnu and that Venkatesvara Swami was Vishnu.*" Then follow the accounts of the miracle worked by Ramanuja whereby the God accepted the Emblems of

Vishnu. Then comes an important statement "*The Bhashyagar established the form of worship and of offering of food, of bathing the God and other ceremonies according to former customs which is still going on.* The Rajas of Vijianagar and Anagondi were always munificent patrons of the temple but the allowances have now been reduced to one-tenth of what they once were."

It will be convenient to notice here another manuscript entitled "Chronological account of sovereigns"—being an abridged account of a manuscript in Malayalam, translated on 11-6-1802 at Chandragiri—Vol. IX p. 4.

The list begins with 1. Dharmaraja, 2. Sarangapani, 3. Sudraka, 4. Vikramarka, 5. Bhojaraja, 6. Nandana and 7. Dilipa—These are called Deva Rajas. After them come the line of 23 Chola kings whose names and periods of reign are alone furnished:

1.	Vootoonga	Cholan—ruled for	32	years
2.	Colaloonga	do. do.	15	,,
3.	Rajendra	do. do.	9	,,
4.	Tirumudigonda	do. do.	18	,,
5.	Karikala	do. do.	21	,,
6.	Arindava	do. do.	13	,,
7.	Urayur	do. do.	17	,,
8.	Changan	do. do.	15	,,
9.	Mannalanda	do. do.	12	,,
10.	Manuneetigonda	do. do.	14	,,
11.	Varagonda	do. do.	14	,,
12.	Allapuranda	do. do.	8	,,
13.	Tiruneeru	do. do.	15	,,
14.	Aralurucadamaconda	do. do.	6	,,
15.	Jayamconda	do. do.	12	,,
16.	Krimikanta	do. do.	20	,,
17.	Tondaman	do. do.	12	,,

"It is stated that Audonda Cholan, son of this Tondaman Cholan, cleared away the jungle which overran the country on the East and North-East of Tirupati and built in his father's name, the great city named Tondamanad near Callastry and peopled the country thus cleared by him with inhabitants from provinces to the Southward. There is also a celebrated history of what past between him and the God Tirupati Venkatachalapathy; he built and repaired the Pagodas, Callan[1] Mantapams, granaries and several other buildings belonging to the God at Teeroopaty; much is to be said of his history."

18.	Poodungutt Cholan	ruled for	45 yrs.
19.	Sankoonodangan Cholan	do.	14 ,,
20.	Cholaman Cholan	do.	11 ,,
21.	Gangaigonda Cholan	do.	11 ,,
22.	Sundara Pandya Cholan	do.	40 ,,
23.	Bookaloo Cholan	do.	24 ,,

It is sufficient for our present purpose to note that Tondaman is not a mythical king but a ruler who held sway over Tirupati after Krimikanta, the supposed persecutor of Sri Ramanuja and all the activities at the temple associated with his name, are really those of Adondai[2] who was apparently the Viceroy of the

[1] Kal = Stone.

[2] Adondai, the illegitimate son of Kulottunga Raja of Tanjore also known as Tondaman Chakravarti attacked the Pallava King with a force and a fierce battle was fought at Puralur. In this Kurukshetra he was successful and Adondai was forced to retreat to Sholinghur. Encouraged there by a dream, he renewed the contest and defeated the enemy with great slaughter. The Pallava King was taken prisoner and the brazen gates of the Puralur fort were carried to the Temple of Tanjore."

—(*A. F. Cox. N. A. Dt. Manual Vol. I—p.* 39.)

Kalahasti kingdom which included also the Tirupati region.*

Next to Tondaman, the Kings who are credited with active control of the temple are the Yadava Kings who reigned at Narayanavanam, with alternative capitals at Chandragiri and Tirupati. In regard to these kings also, as stated already, their names and dates vary in the different lists. Some lists mention names of fourteen kings, some give eighteen names while one list mentions nineteen kings. The inscriptions yeild a few names of these kings but their dates are at least three centuries later than the dates mentioned for them in the lists.

Before discussing the period of these kings we may notice in detail one of these accounts entitled "Account of the Kings of Callee yoog compiled by the chief stanik of Sri Perambudur: Translated from 27th May to 2nd June 1804." (Mackenzie Collection: Manuscript Translations and Reports Vol. XVI Pp. 399-414).

The list, as usual, begins with the kali yuga and gives 12 names of the Deva Rajas, followed by the reigns of Aswapati and Narapati Kings and then follow the names of Chola Rajas. In this list also Krimikanta is the 16th and Tondaman the 17th; next come the lists of Chera, Chola and Pandya Kings and then Ballal Rajas and thereafter the Kings of the Yadava dynasty as noted below.

1.	Sriranga Yadava Rayalu		25 yrs.
2.	Viranarayana Yadavaraya	[redacted]	,,
3.	Vobala	do.	[redacted] ,,
4.	Tiruvangala	do.	22 ,,

* Scholars are not yet agreed about the identity of Krimikanta, nor of the actual period of Ramanuja's life.

5.	Porumkeyana (Perunjinga ?)		15 yrs.
6.	Gandagopala	Yadavarayalu	23 ,,
7.	Narasimha	do.	13 ,,
8.	Kambala	do.	15 ,,
9.	Bukana	do.	22 ,,
10.	Vira Narasimha	do.	12 ,,
11.	Narasinga	do.	8 ,,
12.	Toa (Toya)	do.	12 ,,

Under No. 12 Toya Yadavarayalu, it is noted "In this time when the Kalahasti people asserted that the God Tiruvengadanathaswamy of Tiruputty was the spirit of the God Subrahmany Eswar; then Baushyacar made out the Sankoo and Chakrum and also the image of the Goddess Alamelumanganauncharlu in Gold and the Kalahasti people brought the Trishulum (or Trident) and Harenum (or Deer) the marks of Eswar; both parties then placed the above mentioned Insignia of Eswar and Vistnoo in the Tiruputty Pagoda, by these means to ascertain which the God would choose; they kept a strict watch on the Pagoda and sealed up the door; then the God being the true spirit of Vistnoo accepted the marks of Vistnoo as well as the image of the Goddess and the Kalahasti people lost their cause.

"13. Talalugotena Rayalu 9 yrs.

"This Rayalu beheaded a number of people and hence he is called Talalugotena Rayalu; afterwards Sree Baushyacarlu named him after himself Sri Bhashya Yadavaray[redacted]

14.	Vasudeva Yadava Rayalu*	12 yrs.
15.	Tiruvirenda Yadavarayulu	15 ,,

* *Note*: Some lists add the title Sri Bhashya to this king.

"In this reign he cleared away all the jungle of uputty and brought an Idol of Vistnoo named Tela vindarazooloo from Chidambaram or Tela (Tillai) l placed it in a Pagoda below the hill of Tiruputty ning it Diguva Tiruputty where he erected a nber of Pagodas, Temples with their enclosures l built a city and *destroyed all the staneeks of the Pagoda n the hill.*"

16.	Kateya deva Yadava Rayalu (Ghatti-deva ?)	14 yrs.
17.	Rayavasya Yadava Bhujang Rayulu	12 ,,
18.	Sawleca (Chalukya) Narayana Yada-varayulu	10 ,,
19.	Prativadi Bhayankara Sumseya Yada-va Rayulu	87 ,,
	Total	370 yrs.

Then come the reigns of Warrangal Rajas and n the Tuluva Rajas, that is, the Vijianagar Kings. e notes against Achutaraya, Peddu Venkatapati ulu and the last of the line, Sri Rangaraya are acted below :

Note: Another Tamil manuscript entitled Yugapramanam esanirnaya (No. 17-B-5-6 Wilsons Catalogue P. 244) gives st the same details with the variation that it mentions only ames of Yadava Kings. In this account also the Raja who ded the Siva—Vishnu controversy was Toya Yadava. The name Talalugotena Yadavaraya is applied to Toya Yadava e beheaded a number of Saivas whose claim had been lost. rding to this account Toya Yadava was t[illegible]ng whom the shyakar had honored with his own name S[illegible]hashya Yadava. anuscript entitled Historical Account of Chandragiri (Vol. -3—pp. 10–12 translated from Malayalam) states that Toya ava built the fort on the Chandragiri hill, while another unt ascribes the construction to his predecessor Immadi singa Yadava (Mackenzie Vol. XXV—item 17).

24. *Achutaraya* : "In the beginning of the cycle year Virody he seized and took a great treasure in money from the wardens of the Tiruputty hill and erected four Royal Streets (Raja Veedhis) on the hill and some stone Mantapams on both sides, repaired the Swamy Pooshkarni (or the sacred pool of the God of Tiruputty) on the hill and also erected another Conaroo (or a Pool) denominated it in his name Achootaraya Conaroo and he guilded the temples, Streets, holy pools and a sacred 'pyal' with Gold ; he also constructed two mantapams on the hill and performed many ceremonies to the God and directed all people to worship this God in his name, by the name of Achoota Aula-avaroo. He himself resided at Chandragiri Drug and employed Ramarayalu as the general of his army and conquered the fortress of Prayaga etc." He ruled for 13 years.

"28. Pedda Venkatapati Rayulu from the year Vijaya up to Ananda year ; conquered four or six times all the Golconda people and Vijiapur people, whoever came over the boundary of the Krishna and Tungabhadra rivers. His ancestors were always cauterized with the marks of the Shanka and Chakra, by the Guru (or priest) named Ahobalam Jeeyar; but in his time Tirumala Tatacharloo came from Cumbaconam and converted him and made him to erect 17 Pagodas of Vistnoo, from the beginning of the Pagoda of Canchi Varadarajaswamy God and granted certain duties for this employ to Tatacharloo ; he was cauterized himself with the above mentioned marks by the favour of Tatacharloo and governed all the country with justice and charity for 29 years. He departed this life in the cycle year Ananda on the 20th of Puratasi month ; as he had no sons, his wife, the sister of Vobala Raju named Vobalambama, at this adopted a brahmin lad with a

view to placing him on the throne of the Raya Patanum; the younger brother of Capoony Vobala Raju named Yati Raju and Jagga Raju and some other relations of the Royal family combined to destroy the five or six brothers of Chikka Royal, the.....of Pedda Venkatapathi Rayalu who resided separately in a palace in the fort of Vellore and to seat the adopted brahmin on the throne. They went and surrounded the place of Chikka Royal, which being made known to Velugoti Pedda Yachama Naidu, he sent a washerman to the Palace of Chikkaraya privately, who secretly carried out a lad of 3 years of age Ramarayalu, one of the sons of Chikkarayulu, hid in a bundle of dirty clothes from the palace and delivered him to Yachama Naidu; he then proclaimed Ramadevarayulu in the Raja-samstanum and mounted upon an elephant and carried him over all his (Kingdom) with all kinds of music; at that time Pedda Yachama Naidu, Manadorooloo and the Tanjore Raja prostrated themselves at the feet of his Ramadevarayulu, paid him great honors and acknowledged him in the Royal Samstanum."

Then follow the details of the civil war. This account contains some local details which may be of interest to the students of Vijianagar history.

"31. From the beginning of Chitrabhanu year in the Aurpisi month up to Vyaya, Srirangarayulu ruled for five years. He plundered all the estates of his guru Vatacharlu and seized on the Golden Dhwajastambhum or pillar placed before the Pagoda of the God at Conjeevaram), the Silver Elephant and other valuable jewels of the God of Conjeevaram Pagoda. When people remonstrated to him that he was usurping the property of the god and that famine would come he

replied He destroyed great numbers of people and used disgraceful language to Madura Tirumala Naidu, threatening to have him flayed alive and to cover his Damarum (or Drum) with his skin; he also gave much trouble to the Velugotiwar; destroyed great numbers of Ravillawar; he took the Tirupasoor country from Tupakula Krishnama Naidu and was at violent enmity with many whereupon in that time Madura Tirumala Naidu having invited the Vijiapur people, gave them possession of Vellore fort, etc. The Ravillawar and Tupakula Krishnama Naidu having combined and invited the Golconda people, gave them possession of Chandragiri, etc. Sri Rangarayulu after all his fortresses, places and Durgams were taken and plundered, fled to Ikery people, whereupon Sivappa caused them to restore Vellore to him."

"32. From the beginning of Survajit year the Turcanam (Mussulman) Government followed upon which they sequestered and spoiled all devadayams (or the God's shares) and Brahmadayams (Brahmin's shares).

"Sultan Abdulla the Golconda Rajah ruled for 26 yrs. His son-in-law Hasanoor Musa Rajah then succeeded to Golconda. He allowed all devadayams and brahmadayams and distributed much food in alms. He ruled with great benevolence his kingdom together with Carnatic for 14 years. After this by the slaughter of Ackanna and Madanna and Lingappa his Pradhanies, he incurred the crime of Brahmahatya.

"In the Atshaya year (1686 A.D.) a very great famine came on which cut off vast multitudes of people from the Godavari to the Cauveri and the Colladum

* *Note*: Illegible.

rivers. All these countries being rendered waste were overrun with jungles. At last he was taken prisoner by the Delhi Padshah. The total years of the Golconda Rajahs were 40 yrs.

From the beginning of Prabava, in the Kartika month (1687 A.D.) the Delhi Sultan Ausapoor Padshah named Aurangazeb conquered all the country from Kasi to Rameswar, spoiled all the Devadayams and Brahmadayams, ruined and defiled all the provinces and killed Vanaraj Tamana and slew Bangaru Yachama Naidu with his women and relations in the cycle year Vibhava on the Maharnavamee day of Peratasi month. He ruled up to the year Vyaya, in Punguni month, for 19 yrs. and 5 months; he departed this life on the banks of the Bhima Nadi River of a natural death."

Then follow the reigns of his successors. Davood Khan is said to have been appointed as Nawab of the Carnatic in 1707-8 A.D. by Shah Alam and to have been killed by the Saiyads in 1715 A.D.

Another manuscript in Maharatti gives the dates of Yadava Kings from 809 A.D. to 1092 A D.

Some names of Yadava kings bearing similar names occur in the Devastanam collections and they are actively associated with the temple as local rulers; their dates are furnished below :—

Narasingan Tirukalatti Deva	1185 A.D.
Tirukalattideva Yadavaraya	1191 A.D. to 1246 A.D.
Vira Rakshasa Yadavaraya	1193 A.D.
Vira Narasinga Yadavaraya	1209 A.D. to 1262 A.D.
,, II	1253 A.D. to 1286 A.D.
Narasingan Thirukalatti Yadavan alias Rajadhiraja Yadavaraya	1227 A.D. to 1253 A.D.

Tiruvenkatanatha Yadavaraya.	1300 A.D. to 1330 A.D.
Sriranganatha Yadavaraya	1336 A.D. to 1367 A.D.
Hobala Yadava (Ruler of Tanjai.)	Date of inscription not known.
Ganda Gopala (Vira and Vijaya)	1250 A.D. to 1285 A.D.

There seems to be little doubt that the list of Yadava kings refers to these chiefs. As yet we have not come across the names of Toya Yadava (Sri Bashya Yadava) or Tiruverundi Yadava, who are important, the first as the ruler responsible for the transfer of the temple to Sri Vaishnavas and the second as the founder of the Sri Govindarajaswami temple in Tirupati.

It will be seen from the dates in the inscriptions for Vira Narasinga Yadava, Tiruvengadanatha and

* "The general list of princes of the Dekhin places a dynasty anterior to the Balalas and immediately subsequent to the Pandya and Chola monarchs. These are denominated the Yadavas and Eighteen names are enumerated of Rajas, who are said to have ruled from Sal 730 to 1012 or A.D. 808 to 1080. Few circumstances are added to this nomenclature. The capital was Narayanavaram and Chandragiri and Tripeti were the chief seats of their fame, the fortress at the former and the principal temples at both, being attributed to some of the family. The resumption of the temple of Tripeti from the Saivas and its appropriation to the Vaishnava religion by Ramanuja is said to have occurred in the reign of Toya Yadava, the twelfth of the number, which, if correct, proves the chronology of these princes to be wrong by about two centuries and they must have flourished from the 11th to the 13th century or nearly the same time as the Balal princes; according to some accounts, however, it was Toya Yadava, who cleared the thickets on Chandragiri and built the Fort, whilst other accounts ascribe this to his predecessor Immadi Narasimha and affix the title Sribhashya conferred upon him by Ramanuja to his successor Talalugotena Raja. Again Tiruvenda Yadava is said to have built the principal temples at Tripeti before the time of Ramanuja and he is the fifteenth of the series" (Wilson's Catalogue of Mackenzie collections—Introduction—pp. 67-68)

Sri Ranganatha that the list of Eighteen Yadava Kings* does not show any chronological order of succession and that the title Yadavaraya was loosely applied to Kings like Kopperunjinga, Gandagopala and Raya Vamsa Bhujanga who did not belong to the Yadava stock. No king in the list has a reign of more than 25 years. Three names of Narasinga occur as seventh, tenth and eleventh in the list with reigns of 13, 12 and 8 years respectively. We know from the inscriptions that Vira Narasinga-Yadavaraya had a reign of 57 years from 1205 to 1262 A.D. Inscriptions of another Vira Narasinga occur from 1253 A.D. to 1286 A.D. His exact relationship to his predecessor has not yet been traced. This king may be Immadi Vira Narasinga Yadava or Vira Narasinga II. Inscriptions of Vira Narasinga Yadava I show that the Central Vimanam of the Temple of Sri Venkatesvara was reconstructed by Tiruppullanidasar, a Desanthri, during his reign and that Vira Narasinga performed a Tula Rohana

*1.	Sri Ranga Yadavarayulu	809 to 834	A.D.
2.	Veeranarayana Yadava	834 to 857	,,
3.	Tumbala Yadava	857 to 878	,,
4.	Tiruvengada Yadava	878 to 900	,,
5.	Perunjinga Yadava	900 to 915	,,
6.	Gandagopala	915 to 938	,,
7.	Narasinga Yadava	938 to 951	,,
8.	Kambali Yadava	951 to 966	,,
9.	Bukkana Yadava	966 to 988	,,
10.	Vira Narasinga Yadava	988 to 1000	,,
11.	Immadi Narasinga	1000 to 1008	,,
12.	Toya Yadava	1008 to 1020	,,
13.	Sri Bashya	1020 to 1029	,,
14.	Vasudeva Yadava	1029 to 1041	,,
15.	Tiruverundi Yadava	1041 to 1056	,,
16.	Katikya Yadava	1056 to 1070	,,
17.	Rayavamsa Bhujanga Yadava	1070 to 1082	,,
18.	Chalukya Narayana Yadava	1082 to 1092	,,

ceremony (i.e. weighing himself against gold) an presented the gold to the temple for gilding th Vimana and other structures. His queen Yadavaray Nachchiyar granted to Sri Govindarajaswamy Templ half the village of Paindapalli to meet the expenses o the Ani festival instituted by her and also for th Sikharam (gilded vase to the car) which she had con structed for the God. According to the manuscrip quoted above it was Tiruverundi Yadava who 'cleare away all the jungle of Tiruputty and brought the ido of Vistnoo named Tillai Govindarajaswamy fron Chidambaram and placed it in a Pagoda below th hill of Tiruputty where he erected a number of pagoda and built a city and destroyed all the staneeks of th Pagoda upon the hill.' Vira Narasinga Yadavaraya had the Biruda of "Tanininru Venra", which perhaps was corrupted to "Tiruverunda" either by long usage or by bad copying from old manuscripts. Tiruverunda Yadava is most likely Vira Narasinga Yadava 'Tani nindru-Venra'. The inscriptions show him actively associated with the Tirumalai temple and his queen i seen organising festivals for Sri Govindarajaswamy Similarly No. 13 *Talalugotena Raya* is not a proper name It is expressly stated that the king was so called as h beheaded a number of people and Sri Ramanuja named him after himself as Sri Bashya Yadava. Th beginnings of Vaishnavite influence among the Yadava Rayas are noticed in the reign of Vira Narasinga Yadava Raya I (1205-1252) probably due to the influenc of his queen Yadavaraya Nachchiyar. From the specifi statement in the manuscript that he destroyed all the staniks of the Pagoda on the hill, we may not be fa wrong if we guess that the transfer of the temple or the hill to the possession of Vaishnavas was made ir

the reign of Vira Narasinga Yadava. Most probably after 1215 A.D., his fortieth regnal year and that the consecration of Sri Govindarajaswami also took place in his reign. The tradition ascribing the consecration to Sri Ramanuja, whose date was from 1117 to 1135 or 1150 A.D. cannot therefore be correct. The feat of jugglery in the hill temple, attributed to him, was either a picturesque invention or the performance of a later artist but piously attributed to Sri Ramanuja.

The Cholas were ardent Saivites and it could not have been possible to meddle with a Saiva shrine like Tirumalai during the days of their glory under Vira Rajendra, Adhi Rajendra, Kulottunga I, Vikrama Chola, and Kulottunga II who were the Chola contemporaries of Sri Ramanuja according to Dr. S. Krishnaswamy Aiyangar and other authorities. This could have been possible only during the last years of the weak reign of Raja Raja III who had to be maintained on his throne with the aid of the Hoysala power and the loyal elements among the feudatory chiefs like Vira Narasinga Yadava Raya; the central authority had no actual hold on the feudatory chiefs who were acting independently without acknowledging any suzerain power.

Chapter II

GHATTIDEVA—VISHNU VARDHANA—RAMANUJA

Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar in his history o Tirupati has identified Ghattideva of *Viramangalam* a the Yadava chief who had befriended Ramanuja an settled the Siva-Vishnu controversy of the Tirumala shrine. We have no information about these chiefs except two inscriptions, one in the reign of Vikram Chola and the other in the reign of Kulottunga II Abstracts of the inscriptions are furnished below :—

1. Vikrama Chola (1118 to 1133 A.D.) No. 155 of 1922.

Refers to gift of two villages (names of villages los but clubbed under the new name of) Chaturvediman galam to Brahmins before the God at Kalahast during Uttarayana by Mahamandaleswara Ghattideva Maharaja (full titles) alias Vikrama Chola Karupparu diyar. Mentions some relation as Pudoliarayan alias Kulottunga Chola (full name lost). Date of grant not known.

2. Kulottunga II—6th year: No. 83 of 1922 (1133 to 1146 A.D.

Ghattideva alias Kolottunga Sola Yadavaraya of Viramangalam who has birudas of Mahamandaleswara, etc. undertakes to provide daily one Kalam of rice, five varieties of vegetables, salt, pepper, etc. for feeding brahmins passing by the big road (Peria Vali) to Sri Kalahasti; Also to provide for the Ardhajama service in the (Kalahasti) temple.

The gifts relate to Kalahasti temple by two persons bear the name of Ghattideva. One describes him- s Vikrama Chola Karupparaduaiyar, while the d styles himself Kulottunga Sola Yadavaraya. Dr. ishnaswami Aiyangar asserts that both the inscrip- relate to one individual* who called himself ma Chola, during Vikrama Chola's reign and tunga Sola during Kulottunga II's reign. Even ding that this queer suggestion is correct, the gifts to Kalahasti temple and there is no indication in scriptions connecting either Ghattideva with the ati region. We find an inscription of a later er of the family in the 30th year of Kulottunga 203 A.D.) buying lands from the Nattavar for the f making a car and other offerings to Kalahasti e: "A Rajamalla Devar alias Yadavaraya of pundi, son of Ghattideva presents lands to the asti temple for offerings and for construction of a y purchase from Chittira melip-peria-nattavar." 22 of 1922). It is clear that Ghattideva belonged Telugu-Chola family of chiefs, who held sway he Nellore District. Their rule did not extend of Venkatagiri Division of the Nellore District

*There is an inscription of the 17th year of Vikrama Chola would, bring us to the date 1135 A.D. of a Yadavaraya by Ghatti-Deva, who was ruling this locality very probably as nor—it may be a feudatory—of the ruling Chola for the ing, Vikrama Chola. In the records just a few years later, mes the title, probably he was given that title, Kulottunga adavaraya, which would mean that he continued to hold ce under Kulottunga II, the son and successor of Vikrama More than that, he apparently continued to be conducting ministration loyally and earned the appreciation of his gn so far as to have been given this title of honour. of Tirupati Vol. I, P. 284.

during this period. Dr. S. Krishnaswamy Aiyan however imports Ghattideva into the Tirupati tem and enters into a graphic account* of Ghattide transactions with Ramanuja and the Tirupati tem without evidence other than the two inscripti noticed above, which have no relation to the Tirup temple.

* This Ghattideva seems to have been the actual ruler dur the period with which we are concerned as his records se to go down to 1150 A. D. He is said to have had the title Yadava Narayana which perhaps need not be given Vaishn significance.*

Some time later we hear of a son of his, Rajam Yadavaraya, otherwise Bhujabala Siddharasa; but his records t him to rather late in the reign of Kulottunga III. Theref we may take it safely that it was this Ghattideva, feudatory of both Vikrama Chola and Kulottunga II, that actually the Yadavaraya, who called in the assistance of Raman to settle the dispute in the Tirupati temple. Not only that, interested himself further in putting the whole course of tem management and worship in order through Ramanuja and community of Vaishnavas in Tirupati. We may perhaps take that he did not, as rulers of his standing before him did, think putting on record what he did to the temple at Tirupati, as might have felt such a thing might have been displeasing to sovereign, who showed himself to be an enthusiastic followe Saivism personally, and what is really more, what he did to Vishnu temple both at Tirupati on the hill and the town bel were acts which might have been regarded as going against sc of the acts of the sovereign. It is just possible that Kulottung as a Hindu sovereign might not have actually objected to his do what he actually did, but it would be justifiable, if the Yada raya felt shy that these acts of his may not actively be appro at headquarters. This Ghattideva Yadavaraya therefore,

* Note: Yadavanarayana is a Chalukyan title assumed by Yadava Ch who apparently assumed these titles in honour of their patrons, the Chaluk Emperors. There is no special Vaishnava significance in this. We find Chalukyan king Saktivarman II (999 to 1011 A. D.) assuming the title for first time.

While Dr. S. Krishnaswamy Aiyangar is anxious to give jurisdiction over Tirupati region to these Nellore chiefs, the Epigraphical annual report for 1921-22 (p. 103), which publishes the three inscriptions discussed above, identifies them as members of a family of feudatory chiefs who held sway over a small territory in South Arcot District.

first name among the Yadava Rulers to come to our notice in the inscriptions early in the twelfth century A.D. seems to have been the actual ruler, who was contemporary with Ramanuja. (History of Tirupati—Vol. I—Pp. 285-286).

The Venkatachala Ithihasamala states that while Ramanuja was still in Tirupati the news of the removal of image of Govindaraja in the Govindaraja shrine in Chidambaram reached Tirupati. Ramanuja heard of this from those who had run away for shelter to Tirupati carrying the movable images from the shrine.* For this event precise dating is possible, as it is actually mentioned in Tamil literature in three works of the poet Ottakuttar, who was tutor and Governor to Kulottunga II., . . . who ascended the throne in 1135 A.D. and whose abisheka must have taken place probably that year. So about 1135 A.D. ought to be the time, when the images should have reached Tirupati. At that time Ramanuja was high in influence at the court of a local Ruler Yadavaraya, and had been ordering things at Tirupati, largely not only for the conduct of worship as of old but even to provide the temple with all that was necessary to carry on regular worship throughout the year It was then that the Yadavaraya undertook the building of the Govindaraja shrine and lay out the Agrahara, which he called Ramanujapura. Therefore, then the second visit of Ramanuja to Tirupati should have taken place some eight or ten years after his return to Srirangam, say after 1130 A.D. If the Yadavaraya whose capital is said to have been Narayanavanam not far from Tirupati had been a ruler of such influence in the

* Note : The image of Sri Govindarajaswamy is made of Chunam mortar. The processional image is that of Parthasarathi, the original God of the temple, now closed up owing to the mutilation of the Mula Vigraham. Please see Stratton's Report. Also D. E. R., Vol. I pp. 58-9. Thus no images, either movable or immovable, were brought by Ramanuja to Tirupati as stated above.

"Karupparudayar appears to have been a family subordinate to the Chola crown who held sway over a small territory' in South Arcot District. Their vassal position is indicated by their assumption of the names of their Chola overlords before their names: (e. g. Vikrama Chola Karupparudayar in No. 155 of 1923 and Rajadhiraja Karupparudayar in No. 316 of 1917 (Rajaraja II or III) Registers gift of land for a flower garden to Nataraja temple Chidambaram" (Annual report 1921–22 p. 103).

The Nellore District inscriptions contain records of Rajamalla Deva alias Bhujabala Siddharasa in the reigns of Kulottunga III (1178 to 1216) and Rajaraja III (1216 to 1248) and his father Ghattideva and probably son Ghattideva and the records occur in Chapalapalli of Venkatagiri Division in the Nellore District. Rajamalla Deva describes himself as the ruler of Kanucharapura which is identified as a village in the Godavari District. There is nothing to indicate that these Telugu chiefs had jurisdiction over the Tirupati region (i. e.) south of Venkatagiri Division of the Nellore Dt. Their inscriptions only record gifts to

locality as to have helped Ramanuja, we can well expect some record of his doings, which would normally be set up in the temple in the form of inscriptions. There is no inscription referable to the time of any Yadavaraya and the only record of the period is the one inscription of the 16th year of Vikrama Chola dated 1117 A. D. and this has reference to the Siva Temple at Tirupaladiswaram, Sri Parasaresvara in lower Tirupati.* We have records of a Yadavaraya at the time with whom we can safely equate all these doings to assist Ramanuja to put the daily and annual functions in the temple on a footing of assured purpose from time to time—Vol. I, (pp. 281—283).

* The inscription is in Yogi Mallavaram, a village north-east of Renigunta and not in lower Tirupati.

temples at Chapalapalli (Nellore District), Kalahasti, Tondamanad and Gudimallam and contain no details about themselves (189, 210 and 232 of 1903—S.I.I. Vol. VIII, 509, 580 and 623 N. I. V-6, V-II and 122 of 1922.)

It is possible that the Epigraphist's identification of Karupparudayar as feudatory chiefs of South Arcot District is wrong. Karuppur is a village in South Arcot District but the rendering in some of the inscriptions is "Kanuppurudayan" and "Kanuppundi". It probably refers to Kanuppur in the Nellore District.

It will thus be clear that it is an unwarranted assumption to connect Ghattideva either with Tirupati or Ramanuja. These chiefs figure more prominently as devotees of Kalahastesvara than Venkatesvara.

In his Ancient India, Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar had stated that the Siva Vishnu controversy was settled by Ramanuja sometime after 1111-2 A.D. before the persecution of Vaishnavas by Kulottunga I and that the consecration of the idol of Govindarajaswami at Tirupati was done sometime in the reign of Kulottunga II whose date according to him was from 1133 to 1146 A.D. In his history of Tirupati, however, he tries to establish that the transfer of the temple to the custody of Vaishnavas and the consecration of Govindarajaswami took place in 1135 A.D. under the patronage of Ghattideva. Several authorities who rely on the account of Ramanuja's life, as furnished by Divyasuricharita, are inclined to doubt Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar's identification of Kulottunga I as the Chola persecutor of Ramanuja and they are of the view that Krimikanta was either

Virarajendra (1063–1070) or Adhi-rajendra (1070 A.D. the predecessors of Kulottunga I.*

* 1. Mr. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri in his history of Chola observes, "An attempt has been made (I. A. P. 217 ff) to connec these internal differences in the Chola kingdom with the story c the persecution suffered by Ramanuja and his disciples as it i narrated in the Vaishnava hagiology; without minimising th difficulty of reconciling all the data proceeding from a mass o contradictory legend but confining our attention to the professedl earliest biographies of Ramanuja like the final chapters of Divya suricharita and the Yatirajavibhavam, it is just possible t identify the Cola, who died as Krimikanta as a consequence o the persecution of Ramanuja and his followers, with eithe Adhirajendra or possibly with Virarajendra with whom the direc Cola line practically comes to a close. The categorical statemen in the Divyasuricharita that God Siva of Tiruvarur proclaimed th end of the rule of the Kings of the Cola family and the chaos a the end of Virarajendra's rule, which is attested by, not accoun ted for by, the Kalingattuparani and the Vikramankadeva Charit and which might have been the concomitant of a religious upheaval lend plausibility to the suggestion thus made. But i must be recognised that the details of the chronology of the life of Ramanuja furnished by the other works are not easy to explain on this assumption and that it is perhaps impossible to explain all the data furnished by legend on any single hypothesis."

2. Mr. Bhattanathaswamin (quoted by Mr. Nilakanta Sastri in his article on "Cholas and the Chalukyas in the 11th century' in the Indian Antiquary (Vol. XLI–pp 224) makes some valuable contribution to the solution of this problem. He states that "if we identify the Chola King of Divyasuricharita with Adhirajendra we can easily reconstruct from this story the real history of Adhirajendra's death. In his Ancient India, Mr. Krishnaswami Aiyangar identifies the Chola opponent of Ramanuja with Kulottunga I, otherwise called Rajendra Chola II. But according to Guruparampara Prabhava, the Tirunarayanapura temple was built in cyclic year Bahudanya, Thursday the 14th day of Makara-masa, with Pushya Nakshatra but the Saka year corresponding to this is stated to have been subsequent to Saka 10½2. Hence it must have been either Saka 1020 or 1098 A. D. which was the

It is even doubted whether the Mysore King Bitti-Deva, Vishnuvardhana, was actually the patron of Ramanuja, whom the latter is said to have converted to Vaishnavism, as the Divyasuricharita refers to a chief named Vitthala reigning in Tirupati, who gifted an *Agrahara* to Ramanuja and was converted by him. These discussions push back the date of Ramanuja's first visit to Tirupati to settle the Siva-Vishnu dispute to about 1032 A.D.* We are not aware of any king

28th Regnal year of Kulottunga I. Divyasuricharita states that the temple of Melkote was built after the death of Krimikanta. If we identify Krimikanta with Kulottunga I, the temple must have been built after 1119 A.D. the latest known date for Kulottunga I. The year Bahudanya subsequent to 1119 A.D. is 1158 A.D. But Ramanuja, the founder of Tirunarayanapuram temple died in Saka 1059 or 1137 A.D. Therefore Kulottunga I cannot be Krimikanta. If Krimikanta is identical with Adhirajendra there is no difficulty. Moreover the expression Tadvamsakshaya-karanaya etc. in Divyasuricharita clearly states that a family ended with the royal opponent of Ramanuja. Kulottunga I is the founder of the new Chola-Chalukya dynasty whose descendants ruled the Tamil country for more than five generations. This fact supports the identification of Krimikanta Chola with Adhirajendra with whom the original Chola family ended."

* 1. In the Mysore Archaeological Survey Report for 1907-08 the account of Ramanuja's visit to Tirunarayanapuram is stated to have been due to wrongly identifying, Yadavapura (Tonnur) with Tirunarayanapura which is Yadavagiri. The date of erection of Tirunarayanapuram temple was interpreted to be that of Ramanuja's visit to Tondanur or Tonnur, where Ramanuja met Vishnuvardhana or Vitthala and according to Guruparampara prabhava, converted him. It is further written in the Report 'either there must have been some mistake about the date or we must suppose that Vishnuvardhana had also taken up his residence at Tonnur when his brother Ballala I was on the throne, for the year Bahudanya corresponding to A. D. 1099 does not fall within the reign of Vishnuvardhana." But Divyasuri-

of the name of Vitthala in Tirupati about this period. It is anyhow clear that Ghattideva can be ruled out as the patron of Ramanuja. We find Ghattideva recording minor details of his gifts, such as, one kalam of rice, vegetables, salt, pepper etc. to Kalahasti temple. The argument that he was overcome by shyness, when it came to the question of recording his decision in an

charita clearly states that Ramanuja visited Srinarayanapura or Tirunarayanapura and built the temple of Selvapillai or Sampadatmaja. No mention is made of Vishnuvardhana's conversion in Tondanur in this work, which being contemporary evidence is more authoritative than Guruparampara prabhava and Ramanujarya Divyacharita. The two latter works often quote from Divyasuricharita. We cannot therefore take Vishnuvardhana's conversion by Ramanuja at Tonnur as a fact. But if this conversion is a fact we shall have then to identify the former with a Vitthala who was ruling the District of Tirupati many years before Ramanuja's visit to Tirunarayanapuram and who was seemingly converted by Ramanuja during his visit to Tirupati. The following verse (D. S. C. XVIII-22) may be quoted:

"Having reached Tirupati, the ornament of the foot of the hill named after serpents (i. e. Seshasila or Tirupati hill) he (Ramanuja) got an Agrahara from the King Vitthala who worshipped his feet and established 300 of his famous and principal disciples in it." This might have happened at the time of Vishnuvardhana's father Ereyanga (about 1062 A.D.)

2. The late Mr. T. A. Gopinatha Rao, in his History of Srivaishnavas (University lectures 1917) states "Ramanuja had heard in S. 1009 (1087) A. D. that Senni Kulottunga (Ramanujarya Divyacharitam p. 236) had destroyed the Vishnu temple at Chidambaram" and on this basis identifies Kulottunga I as Krimikanta. "Hearing the death of Kulottunga I at Gangaikondacholapuram, Ramanuja prepared to start for Srirangam. Before doing so he placed the affairs of the temple of Tirunarayanapuram on a firm basis and visited the Temple at Tirupati, where he permanently decided in favour of Vaishnavas concerning the Siva or Vishnu

important dispute between rival sects and the organisation of worship in the temple on a permanent basis, is not worth serious notice particularly as we are assured by Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar that he was a favourite of the Chola king who had conferred on him 'the title of honour' as Kulottunga Sola.

In regard to the date of Ramanuja Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar stated in his Ancient India P. 221 "According to the traditional account Ramanuja lived for 120 years from A.D. 1017 to 1137. Some object to this length and regard it as a fabrication just to give the reformer the Mahadasa as it is called. It is a matter of little consequence to us whether he lived for 120 years or not. What is more important to our purpose is that his was a long and active life and covered three reigns of Cholas, Kulottunga I (1017 to 1118 A. D.), Vikrama Chola (1118 to 1135 A.D.) and Kulottunga II (1123 to 1146 A.D.). Ramanuja's active life may therefore be safely referred to the last quarter of the eleventh century and the first half of the twelfth century A.D.". When writing thus he was satisfied with 1137 A.D. as the final date for Ramanuja, but since then a definite date (i.e.) 1133 A.D. has been ascertained for the accession of Kulottunga II as against the initial date 1123 A.D. previously adopted by him. He committed the further mistake of noting the date of accession as 1135 A.D. instead of 1133 A. D. There was thus barely an interval of two years for Ramanuja to reinstal the image

nature of the local deity. He returned to Srirangam 11 years before his death After his return to Srirangam Ramanuja finished the remaining 3rd part of his Bhashyam. This must evidently have been after Saka 1039 (1117 A.D.) and before Saka 1059 (A. D. 1137) Thus Ramanuja enjoyed his well earned repose for 10 years before he died in Saka 1059 or (A. D. 1137)."

of Govindarajaswami at Tirupati, thereafter to return to Srirangam, complete the Bhashyam and enjoy the ten years of life of peace according to the traditional accounts. He therefore makes Ramanuja live till 1155 A. D. on the ground that there is some discrepancy in the dating of his activities, which however he does not choose to explain.* This would give Ramanuja a life of 138 years from 1017 to 1155 A.D.

* "According to Venkatachala Itihasamala he paid a third visit when he was 102 years of age and then regarded it as no more possible for him to be visiting Tirupati as frequently as hitherto and made certain arrangements in order to assure permanency to the arrangements that he made and returned to Srirangam. The same work says that he afterwards made two or three flying visits before he died. In the traditional Guruparampara accounts he is supposed to have lived 120 years, the length of a Mahadasa: without taking too literally, we might regard Ramanuja's was a long life running past a century, it may even be some years more than that and without attempting to be too precise, where too much precision may not be possible, we may say roughly that the active period of Ramanuja's life covered a century from A D. 1050 to 1150. Going by the precise statements given above, his 102nd year would correspond to A.D. 1119 which we have shown to be impossible for the precise events recorded of which we can be certain in regard to dating. If in 1119 A.D. he was 102, he must have lived on 18 years longer which would mean that he passed away somewhere about 1139 A.D. which having regard to the precise dating of the accession of Kulottunga II would make it too early. But if we take in the 15 or 16 years of discrepancy by way of antedating that we have noted already, it would mean that he actually passed away in A.D. 1155 and this date it is just possible may be correct. History of Tirupati. Vol. I (p. 279 ff).

Note: The late Mr. T. A. Gopinatha Rao who had also identified Krimikanta with Kulottunga I and the Yadava Patron of Ramanuja with Ghattideva, did not seek to extend the life time of Ramanuja but fixed his initial and final dates with reference to the

The earlier accounts of the life of Ramanuja like Divyasuricharita contain vague details of Ramanuja's activities around Tirupati and Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar has therefore drawn exclusively from a hitherto unrecognised and highly sectarian work called "*Venkatachala Itihasamala.*" He has invested the work with sanctity by constructing a genealogical table for its supposed author Anantalvar equating him with one of the Acharyas, third in succession from Ramanuja, with date 1048 A.D. On the edifice that he has thus built up, he claims that this is a contemporary account of Ramanuja's activities in Tirupati. It is extraordinary that all authorities who had hitherto written about the life of Ramanuja and Sri Vaishnavism, including Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, did not know or hear of this contemporary account. He congratulates himself on his luck in finding this work. "Luckily for us we have a Sanskrit work composed just a few generations after Ramanuja which bears specifically upon this work. The committee was so good as to sanction the republication in good form of a critical edition of this work of which there was an unsatisfactory Telugu edition and even that had for some time been out of print."

Everyone in Tirupati knows that the *Itihasamala* was written by a well-known Acharyapurusha of Tirupati, claiming descent from Anantalvar, about 1890 A.D. The author died at Tirupati in 1919 A.D. after a ripe age of 75. He has also written many other Sanskrit works. There are still several persons in Tirupati who can speak to his authorship of *Venkata-*

Chronograms Dhirlabdha and Dharmonastah as given in Guruparampara Prabhava according to which the final date is S. 1059 or A. D. 1137.

chala Itihasamala under an assumed name. As the work was intended for a specific purpose, he had to publish it under the name of a remote ancestor. The local press which could print Sanskrit only in Telugu characters had to serve the urgent purpose. In fact, the work was not seriously thought of as worthy of republication by the author himself, who was content with the first edition. The author of the work was more a contemporary of Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar than Ramanuja and therefore it more fully answers the needs of a sectarian propagandist than the earlier standard works like Divyasuricharita. The assurance with which Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar weaves his history of the shrine, basing it entirely on this work, will only draw a smile and convince no one. The history of the temple based on this work is of no value as regards facts.

It had been shown that Ghattideva had no connection with the temple and the association of Ramanuja with it is confined to tradition and has not been established by any reliable evidence. As already suggested, the probabilities are that the transfer of the temple to Vaishnavas was effected at a later date, when the Chola power had declined and the feudatory chiefs had gained ascendency i.e., just about the time when Jatavarman Sundara Pandya I destroyed the Chola power and established his authority over Tondamandalam. The list of Yadava Kings places a king named Katiyadeva Yadava (No. 16) (which is obviously the same as Ghattideva) in succession to Tiruverundi Yadava. If our identification of Tiruverundi Yadava as Vira Narasinga Yadava I is accepted, then Ghattideva's date should fall subsequent to 1262 A.D., finally ruling out the possibility of his having been a contemporary of Sri Ramanuja.

Inscriptions of a Mahamandaleswara Ghattideva assignable to A.D. 1203, 1221, 1222, 1225 and 1227 occur in Tondamanad, Kalahasti, Gudimallum and Chapalapalli (Nellore District) in the reigns of Kulottunga III and Rajaraja III. It is possible that these chiefs extended their sway over Tirupati from the Venkatagiri region after the death of Vira Narasinga Yadava, who was allied to the neighbouring Yadava and Telugu-Chola ruling families by ties of marriage. (See also D. E. Report Vol. I. P. 116 ff.)

Incidentally, it is noticed that a consecration ceremony was performed for Sri Govindarajaswami of Tirupati in Saka 1389 or A. D. 1467 (apparently by Kandadai Ramanuja Aiyangar, the preceptor of Saluva Narasimha). The occasion for this consecration for Govindarajaswami after it had been installed in the temple by Ramanuja is not clear, unless it be that the interpretation of the inscription by the Devasthanam Epigraphist is wrong and it relates only to the consecration of a tank for the God's bath instead of to the consecration of the image itself. But the point for us to note is that in the inscription it is stated that these purificatory ablutions had been conducted in accordance with the directions of Ramanujarya. Please see extract from Devasthanam Epigraphical Report Part I-page 81. "There is an inscription No. 10 (G. T.) in Sanskrit verse, in Sragdhara metre, referring to a consecration ceremony performed for Sri Govindaraja. The date is given in a chronogram which works out to Saka 1389. It records that on an auspicious day during this Saka year Sri Govindaraja was bathed in the holy waters possessing enough powers to destroy sins of the three worlds. These purificatory ablutions are said to have

been conducted in accordance with the directions of Ramanujarya. Even if this 'Ramanujarya' should be taken to refer to Sri Ramanujacharya the Bhashyakarar and to none else of a later date, the record merely mentions that the rites were conducted in consonance with the directions of Ramanuja on the subject of consecration."*

The presence of Kandadai Ramanuja Aiyangar at Tirupati during this period is seen from an inscription (T. T. 70) registering a gift of cows to the hill shrine for curds for presentation of "Dadhyodanam" (rice mixed with curds) to the God (Saka 1390). The consecration ceremony referred to above was in Saka 1389.

* "In the Saka year extolled by the learned men who use their learning as their eyes; in the hot season in the bright fortnight, on Monday with which are combined the 2nd lunar day and the Sravana (Star) God Govindaraja in company with Sridevi and Bhudevi, accepts for the good of the world, the *Snapana* (holy bath) rites instituted by Ramanujarya from waters invoked for the purpose of sanctifying (the tank). Here (in this tank) appear everyday together with Devas (the different deities) purified by the bath (herein), the holy waters (of the sacred rivers) which destroy the sins of the three worlds.

(The gist of the record is that on the particular day a consecration ceremony was conducted for Sri Govindaraja and his two divine consorts and that the source from which water was used for the function has continued to be a sacred receptacle since the sacred rivers, such as the Ganga, Yamuna etc. flow into it everyday.)"

शुभमस्तु। तीर्थार्थाहू ततोये शुचिदिननिचये धीदृगीडये शकाब्दे,
शुक्लेऽब्धी(न्दो)र्द्वितीयाश्रुतियुजि जगतां श्रेयसे श्रीमहीभ्याम्
कू(क्ल)सं का(रा)मानुजार्यैः स्नपनविधि मुपैत्यत्र गोविन्दराजः
तीर्थान्यायाति देवैस्त्रिजगदघहराण्यन्वहं स्नानशुध्दैः ॥

(Devasthanam Inscriptions: Volume II.)

Whoever might have been the chief who had originally assisted in the transfer of the temple to Vaishnavas, it is seen from the inscriptions in the temple that the Vaishnavite character of the shrine received its first real emphasis only during the long reign of Saluva Narasimha who was ably assisted in the task by Kandadai Ramanuja Aiyangar, "a zealous and influential Vaishnava preceptor", and the climax was reached during the reign of Venkatapatiraya (Venkata I) under Tirumalaikumara Tatacharya of Ettur or Koti Kanyadanam Tatacharya.

CHAPTER III

VENGADAM OF THE ALVARS

It has been stated previously that the whole range of the Eastern ghats from Tirupati upto the borders of the Krishna in the Guntur District was known in the ancient records as Sri Parvata and that the buff colouring of the cliff faces round the Tirupati region, gave it also the distinctive name of Venkatachalam. The locality immediately below the hills was called Vengadam and the district surrounding it as Vengada Kottam. The earliest inhabitants of the region were Kurumbars. They appear to have been living in the plains below the hills, while the Irulars occupied the hill regions. The Kurumbar chiefs divided the region, latterly known as Tondamandalam into twenty-four kottams of which Tiruvengada kottam was one and Sendirukkai (or) Chandragiri kottam another. Regular attempts to reclaim the region by cutting down forests and introducing agricultural colonists and brahmins were done only after the Pallavas established themselves firmly on the throne of Kanchi. One of the titles common to all Pallava kings was "Kaduvetti" or destroyer of forests. After Vishnugopa of Kanchi, the first Pallava to come to notice is Trilochana or Trinayana Pallava, otherwise known as Mukkanti Kaduvetti. He was the Pallava king whom Karikala is said to have subdued before establishing himself at Kanchi. Formerly both Karikala and Mukkanti were considered mythical kings but now their period is settled to be the first half of the 6th century or 550 A.D.,

with reference to the known date for Chalukya Vijiaditya. Both Karikala and Vijayaditya Chalukya claim to have defeated Mukkanti Pallava. Mr. K. V. Subramania Aiyar in his Historical Sketches of Ancient Deccan states that Mukkanti was probably Skandasishya or Skandavarman II, the immediate predecessor of Kumaravishnu I. Karikala is stated to have brought sudra families from the north and settled them in the twenty-four districts of Tondamandalam for cultivation.

Mukkanti Kaduvetti appears however to have been of a religious turn of mind; he is credited with having settled a number of brahmin families along the Cuddapah-Chittoor borders of the Seshachalam range in Tirupati and granted to them agraharas as sarvamanya. The first settlement seems to have been of Vedic brahmins, who formed small colonies such as Munulapudi, Yogimallavaram, Chowdeswari Nandavaram, Mudivemu (Peddamandiam of the Madanapalli Taluk) etc. The local records or kaifiyats * examined by Dr. N. Venkataramanayya and exhaustively dealt

* During the Fifth and Sixth centuries of the Christian era a large part of the southern Telugu country corresponding to portions of Chittoor, Nellore and Cuddapah districts was covered by an impenetrable forest. We understand from the Kaifiyat of Kota that about S-513 there was a big forest extending eastwards from Kalahasti to the Bay of Bengal. According to the Kaifiyat of Chittivale the whole area from the Pennar in north to the Tirumalai in the south was covered by a forest during the early years of Karikala. The Kaifiyat of Chowdeswari Nandavaram informs us that during the reign of Mukkanti Kaduvetti in the country extending from the Pennar in the south to the Nallamalais in the north the forest was destroyed for the purpose of cultivation. The Kaifiyat of Talpagiri (Nellore) tells us that the region surrounding modern Nellore was a forest at the time of Mukkanti Kaduvetti.

with by him in his book on Trilochana Pallava show that till about 600 A.D. a huge forest extended from the Bay of Bengal to the Tirumalai Hills and from Tirumalai to the Nallamalais on the north.

While Kanchi was a centre of learning, the portion forming the present district of Chittoor, at least the portion of it forming the Chandragiri Taluk, was an impenetrable forest. Narayanavanam alone appears to have been a place of some importance being the seat of local chiefs, the predecessors of the present Rajas of Karvetnagar. There appears to have been no real contact between Tirupati and Tirumalai (i.e.) between Vengadam and Venkatachalam till the occupation of Narayanavanam by the Salva chiefs in the 10th century. The first person of any importance to penetrate into mountain range appears to have been Sri Sankaracharya in his mission of confuting the Bouddhas and establishing the supremacy of the Hindu religion. It is seen from the tradition recorded in the Sawal-e-Jawab and also in the history of Tirupati by Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar that the whole range, from Guntur to Tirupati was considered a single unit, Sri Parvata, fancifully represented as the serpent Adisesha, the portion upto Srisailam representing the tail, Ahobilam the middle, Venkatachalam the hood and Kalahasti the mouth of the serpent.

It may be incidentally noted here that even Ahobilam had early Saivite associations as revealed by

It appears from this that a huge forest extended from the Bay of Bengal to the Tirumalai Hills on the one hand and from the latter to the Nallamalais on the other.—Trilochana Pallava by Dr. N. Venkataramanayya.

the existence of a Sivalinga[1] behind the image of Narasimha. The archaeological survey of the mountain range around Nagarjunakonda in Nagarallabodu (Sanskrit: Seshasaila) in the Guntur District and in Srisailam in the Kurnool District shows that from at least 200 B.C. this range was considered holy and was an active centre of religious activity and that the Buddhistic and the Vedic religions flourished side by side under the rule of Andhrabhrityas Their inscriptions in Nagarjunakonda show that while the queens, who built the Chaityas, Viharas and temples and votive pillars on Nagarallabodu for the use of Buddhist emigrants from Ceylon, were of the Buddhistic faith, the kings were followers of the vedic religion.[2] Similar

[1] One peculiar aspect of upper Ahobilam which may have been true also of lower Ahobilam is the shrine of Sivalingam consecrated in the walled off portion of the natural cavern in which Narasimha is worshipped. The Sivalinga is not generally cared for, but it is stated that on the Sivaratri day, which is held sacred to Siva, a Brahman of the Smartha sect is engaged to worship the Linga. The liberal spirit that thus distinguished the sectarian Vaishnavas in the early days of their career is now fast dying out and the ruinous factious spirit is gaining the upper-hand—Ep. Annual Report 1915-16 (Madras.)

[2] Nagarallabodu is not only the biggest hillock in the valley but is superior to any other as a building site, as it is centrally situated in the most fertile portion and is close to the great Stupa and commands a delightful view of the surrounding country, features of importance with the Buddhists and is only 1½ miles from the river. The inscription also tells us that Siripavata was conveniently situated with regard to the adjacent town of Vijayapuri. The latter must have been the ancient name of the town that originally occupied the central portion of the valley extending in a westerly direction towards the river. This site has not yet been excavated but contains the remains of several ruined mandapas or pavilions with some of their pillars

Buddhistic associations are found in Srisailam,* side by side with the worship of Siva. Even here for miles

still standing. It appears likely that the town area was extensive.

Dr. Hirananda Sastri points out in his epigraphical summary that the name Siripavata is obviously the same as the Sanskrit 'Sriparvata.' This is interesting because Nagarjuna, the reputed founder of the Mahayana or Northern school of Buddhism is said to have ended his days in a monastery situated on Sriparvata in the south The name Nagarjunikonda meaning Nagarjana's hill lends strong support to this identification. Should it prove correct, then the identification of Srisailam with an ancient site containing a famous Siva temple situated on the banks of the Krishna in the adjoining Kurnool District which was proposed by Burgess and other scholars will have to be rejected

The inscriptions show that the Great Stupa was restored and added to in the reign of Siri Virapurisadata of the Ikhaku dynasty and that the two apisidal ended temples containing long inscriptions belong to the same period. This ruler apparently was the son of King Vasithiputa Siri Chatamula of the Jaggayapeta inscriptions and was in his turn succeeded by his son named Vasithiputa Siribahuvala Chatamula They show too that most of the donations were made by princesses of the Ikhaku dynasty, one named Chantisiri having been particularly liberal. She is described as the sister of King Siri Chatamula and aunt of King Siri Virapurisadata. It is interesting to note that whereas in each case this royal donatrix appears as an ardent devotee of Buddhism, her brother Siri Chatamula is referred to in the inscriptions as a follower of Brahmanism and as a performer of Vedic sacrifices. This speaks well for the religious toleration of those early days and is in marked contrast to the reforming zeal of Sankaracharya and his followers who visiting Nagarjunikonda in later times expelled the Buddhists and destroyed their religious monuments. (ASR. 1927-28 pp. 117-118 Also see Epigraphia Indica Vol. XX pp. 1 ff.)

* The antiquities of Srisailam, which is embedded in the inaccessible forest of the Nallamalai hills have been attractive both to the earnest archaeologist and the pious pilgrim equally

extending from the temple, ruins of temples and villages are found. It is possible that the kings who were originally worshippers of Siva, subsequently became converts to Buddhism and encouraged the construction of Buddhist temples and Chaityas. The first Ikshvaku king Vasishtiputra Sri Santamula (200 A.D. to 218 A.D.) styles himself as 'Virupakshapati Mahasena Parighantasa' which means that he was a votary of God Mahasena (Subrahmanya) who was the presiding deity of the Sri Parvata range.

Venkatachalam was apparently colonised about the same time as Srisailam.* We find Sri Sankaracharya defeating the Buddhas in Tirumalai, Srisailam and Nagarjunakonda and establishing the predominance of

*"From very early times Srisailam has been supposed to be a place of great sanctity and importance for the Saivas. The temple with its picturesque shrines surmounted by turrets, which remind us of later Pallava architecture . . . is surrounded by a wild tract of country in which traces may still be seen of subordinate minor temples, mathas and residential houses for several miles around. The sanctity of the place has been referred to a remote Puranic period, its name being mentioned even in the Mahabarata. The aesthetic sense of religious fervour peculiar to Hindu mind carries the history further back even to bygone millenniums (yugas). In the Kaliyuga, however, the age in which we live, the story, as related in the Sthalamahatmya of the place says that the princess Chandravati, a daughter of the Gupta King, Chandragupta, conceived a passion for the God on the Srisaila hill and began offering every day a garland of jasmine (Mallika) flowers to Him and eventually married Him. It is not difficult to see that even the myth has its historical significance in the mention of Chandragupta, the Maurya King of Magadha. Evidently it looks as if the origin of the place therefore has to be traced back to a few centuries before the Christian era relying of course on the myths embodied in the Sthalamahatmya, which, it may be noted incidentally, is also partly repeated in detail in one of the stone

the Saivite religion. It would thus appear that the mountain range developed in culture very much earlier than the region of the plains, as the Vedic brahmin settlers found it ideally situated for meditation and undisturbed studies.

In the Sivarahasya Kanda of Skanda Purana, in Sankara Samhita, Chap. 48, it is definitely stated that Venkatachalam is the home of Subrahmanya. After

records of the 16th century. Again it is worth mentioning, that on the occasion of each religious observance, in the Sankalpa, every smartha Hindu of the Telugu Districts generally specifies his place with reference to the mountain Srisaila. The custom clearly indicates the importance and religious sanctity which people attach to Srisailam. Dr. Burgess writing on the identity of Sangharama mentioned by Hiuen Tsiang as established on the top of the Po-lo-mo-lo-ki-li by king So-to-Pho-ho, for the Buddhist ascetic Nagarjuna says that this 'Nagarjuna summoned Bhikshus or devotees to reside in it and stored it with copies of all the ceremonial books and their comments. He adds, "As the Tibetan books say that Nagarjuna died at the monastery of Dpyal-gyi-ri or Sri Parvata mountain, they doubtless refer to the same place". Nagarjuna flourished about the 1st century of the Christian era and his connection with Srisaila as stated in the Tibetan books must therefore be presumed to establish for it, already, at that early period, a reputation as a sacred place suited for monasteries and ascetics.

The early Kadamba king Mayuravarman, of about 6th century A. D., is stated to have occupied the inaccessible forest stretching to the gates of Sriparvata (Srisailam). The place is also commemorated in the Devaram, which is attributed to 7th and 8th centuries of our era . . . Thus the early history of Srisaila may apparently have to be placed to a period earlier than even the Mahayana school of Buddhism known to have been founded by Nagarjuna. The Brahmanical faiths of Hindus soon succeeded in securing a hold on the place and to have counted it among the Siddhakshetras with *an important seat for Shakti* under the name of Madhavi (later on called Bhramaramba).

vanquishing Tarakasura, brother of Surapadamasura, Skanda is said to have made a pilgrimage to all Saiva shrines in the south by air, from Devagiri (mount Kailas?). He visited Kedaram, Kasi, Sriparvatam, Virupaksham (Hampi), Dhakshinakailasam (Kalahasti) and "then came to Venkatachalam which was his own home." *

The festivities of the God are quite mild when compared with those of the fearsome goddess Bhramarambika. It is said that on this occasion thousands of goats and buffaloes are sacrificed to appease the blood-thirsty goddess. (Annual Report: Epigraphy-Madras-1915, Part II, pp. 91-92).

Note : Compare sacrifices at Tirupati during the Gangajatra. Even Tondaman is said to have offered animal sacrifices to Tirupati Gangamma, who is called Renukadevi.

संप्राप काशी मीशस्य प्रकाशात्तेन काशिनम् ।
श्रीपर्वतं च देवस्य विरूपाक्षमनुत्तमम् ॥ ८ ॥

श्रीमद्दक्षिण कैलासं सुवर्णमुखरी तटे ।
नित्यं स्वावासमहितं वेङ्कटाचलमद्भुतम् ॥ ९ ॥

स्वामि पुष्करिणी तीरे विष्ण्वादि विबुधार्चितम् ।
श्रीमद्वटाटवीदेवं मूर्ध्वताण्डव पण्डितम् ॥ १० ॥

समाराध्यैव मनसा प्राप काञ्चीं क्रमेण सः ।
यत्र देवः स्वयंसाक्षाद्विष्णु महद्वलपेशलम् ॥ ११ ॥

करोति सततं रक्षाताण्डवं सकलात्मनाम् ।
तत्र देवीं समाराध्य पराकाश बिलात्मिकाम् ॥ १२ ॥

वेदैकाम्रतरोर्मूले विश्वाधीशमजं विभुम् ।
समाराध्य स्वयं साक्षात् सर्वलोकेश्वरेश्वरम् ॥ १३ ॥

कुमारगोष्ठमपरं तत्राप्यावासमात्मनः ।
तत्र स्थानानि सर्वाणि शम्भोरमिततेजसः १४ ॥

Then he visited Tiruvalangadu, Conjeevaram Tiruvannamalai, Venna Nellore (Tiruvennainellore Vriddhachalam, Chidambaram, Mayavaram an Ramesvaram. It was evening by the time he ha reached Ramesvaram.

In Kandapuranam of Kachiyappa Siva Chariar i Urpatti Kandam, Vazhinadai Padalam—Stanza 6 reference is made to this pilgrimage of Skanda to Siv shrines, among which Vengadam is included. பண்ட தான் வருவேங்கிட கிரியைப் பார்த்தான். Here it is said tha he came to Vengadam previously having had a grous against Amman (Parvati, his mother). This referenc would appear to suggest that the temple was that of Bala subrahmanya as the quarrel refers to some inciden when he was yet a boy. A reference to the Saivite character of the shrine at Venkatachalam is found in Kapilar's Tiru Andadi, 11th Tirumurai—where the worship of Siva at Tiru-Amathur and Vengadam is specially recommended. "Siva is at Tiru-Amathur; Siva has Vishnu as his one half; Siva resides in Vengadam, a high mountain, where monkeys abound. All souls who do not go and worship him, will be subject

भक्त्याराध्यत लिङ्गानि प्रसन्नेनान्तरात्मना ।
अरुणाचलमासाद्य तत्राप्येवमपा चरत् ॥ १५ ॥

ततो जगाम सहसा वेण्णानल्लूरमात्मवान् ।
वृद्धाचलं समासाद्यच्चि दम्बरमवलोकयत् ॥ १६ ॥

अन्यानि च शिवस्थाना न्यवलोक्य नभः स्थितः ।
तत्र मयूरकं रम्यं गत्वा स्नात्वा कुसङ्गमे ॥ १७ ॥

उत्तरेण च कावेर्यामप्याख्यामाप चापगा ।
तत्र चास्तमितः सूर्यः तिमिरैरावृतो दिशः ॥ १८ ॥

to all diseases, which flesh is heir to and be ultimately dead and burnt." *

In all the Temples where Subrahmanya is the main deity, there are also shrines for Siva and Parvati as at Tirumurugampundi and Tirumailadi. Therefore the reference to Vengadam as a shrine of Siva need not preclude its being also a place sacred to Skanda. The absence of any inscriptions relative to the origin of the shrine is due to the admitted dismantling of the original temple by Tirupullanidasar during the reign of Vira Narasinga Yadava about 1245 A. D.

The Chola inscriptions now found on the walls of the temple are admitted, in the inscriptions themselves, to have been subsequently copied. They seem to have been originally inscribed on the walls of Tiruvilankoyil (which was located about a furlong to the north-east of the present temple) at Tiruchanur and have clearly no reference to the original temple at Venkatachalam. They were inscribed on the walls of the Tirumalai temple after the silver image first installed in Tiruvilankoyil was transferred to the hill temple, to serve as Utsavamurti on the demolition of Tiruvilankoyil. While evidence of Pallava architecture is still retained in the Srisailam temple, the absence of Pallava associations with the

அரியாரும் பூம்பொழில்சூ ழாமத்தூரம்மான்
அரியாரும் பாகத்தமுதன்—அரியாரும்
வேங்கடத்து மேயானே மேவா வுயிரெல்லாம்
வேங்கடத்து நோயால் வியந்து.
(கபிலதேவ நாயனர் திருவந்தாதி—11-ம் திருமுறை)

—Quotation furnished by Mr. C. K. Subrahmanya Mudaliar of Coimbatore

Tirumalai temple, which was nearer the Pallav capital, is significant.

It has been a matter of considerable perplexity t Vaishnavite historians of Vengadam - Tirupati t reconcile the claim that the Mudal Alvars, who ar said to have lived in the 862900th year of Dvaparayug and sung about the place, with the absence of inscrip tional records about the temple at Vengadam earlie than 830 A. D. Even this inscription records a grant b a private person. Two fragments refer to gifts made b the Bana king Vijiaditya to the different images se up in Tiruvilankoyil, Mantrasalai and to Tiruven gatattu Perumanadigal—(G. T. 219 and G. T. 229 Vol I) but these relate to the period subsequent to 830 A.D.

The inscription of 830 A. D. which has given rise t much controversy, and is important for our purpose, i furnished below :

1 [1]கொவிஜெயஉந்திவிகூ சி[ர்]க்கு யாண்டு அம்படத்தொன்றுவது திருவெங் -

2 [க]டக் கொட்டத்துக் குடவூர்நாட்டுத் [2] திருச்சொகிணூர்த் திருவெங்கடத்து எம்பெருமானடிகளுக் -

3 கு எழுந்தருளுவித்த திருவிளங்கொயிற் பெருமானடிகளுக்குச் சொழநாட்டுச் சொழ[னூ]ர்

4 உலகப்பெருமானூர் வைத்த திருவிளக்கு முதல் முப்பதின் கழஞ்சு இம்முதலுக்காகக் கருக்கி -

5 பட்டி இப்பொன்னுக்கு கொண்டு கு[டு*]த்து திருவிளக்கு வைப்பித்தொம் [||*]

—(262 of 1904, S. I. I. Vol. XII No. 43, Pallava inscriptions and No. 1 (G. T. 219) of Devasthanam inscriptions, Vol. I p. 9.)

[1] Read கொவிஜய.

[2] The old name for the modern Tiruchanur.

"Hail prosperity: In the fifty-first year of Ko Vijaya Dantivikramavarman, Solanar Ulagaperumanar of Sola-nadu made a gift of 30 Kalanju of gold (which was endowed on the land) Karukkipatti for burning a perpetual lamp before the God Tiruvilankoyil Perumanadigal set up in the temple of Tiruvengatattu Perumanadigal at Tiruchchoginur in Kudavur-nadu, a sub-division of Tiruvenkata-Kottam". The translation* given below, as rendered by the Devastanam Epigraphist, is somewhat far-fetched and inaccurate as can be seen from the original of the inscription.

It will be seen that the reference is to two deities at *Tiruchanur* (viz.) Tiruvilankoyil Perumanadigal and Tiruvengatattu Perumanadigal and has no reference to the hill temple. The Devasthanam Epigraphist in trans-

* Hail, Prosperity! In the 51st year of the reign of Ko-Vijaya-Dantivikramar, Ulagapperumanar of Solanur in Sola-nadu deposited 30 Kalanju (of gold) as the capital for a lamp (intended) for the image of Tiruvilankoyil-Perumanadigal installed (as a representation of) Tiruvenkatattu-Emperumanadigal (Sri Venkatesvara). (We the assembly of) Tiruchchoginur (Tiruchanur) (situated) in Kudavur-nadu (comprised in the district) of Tiruvenkata-kottam, having purchased (a certain) patti (of land) with this capital, have caused the lamp to be set up.

Note. The abstract of the same inscription furnished by the Government Epigraphist is as follows:

"This record (at Padmavati Amman temple, Tiruchanur registers a gift of 30 Kalanju of gold by Solanar Ulagaperumanar of Sola-nadu for burning a perpetual lamp before the God Tiruvilankoyil Perumanadigal set up in the temple of Tiruvengatattu Perumanadigal at Tiruchchoginur in Kudavur-nadu, a sub-division of Tiruvenkata-kottam, in the 51st year of Vijaya Dantivikramavarman. Ulagaperumanadigal mentioned in this inscription was evidently a Chola chief ruling Solanadu under the overlordship of the Pallavas."

lating the inscription with his own additions "As representation of", "Sri Venkatesvara", "we assembl of", etc. was more loyal to his employers than t truth. There was absolutely no warrant to import 'S. Venkatesvara' into the reading.

In the first place the inscription was found in th passage to the present Padmavati Amman temple an next, it refers to a God set up in the Ilankoyil i.e. th Balalayam, at Tiruchchoginur for Tiruvengatatt Perumanadigal. This explicit reference to the temple of Tiruvengatattu Perumanadigal at *Tiruchanu* cannot by any means be taken to refer to the Hil temple. Similarly No. 4 (G.T. 229) in the same templ which is a fragment, refers to Tiruvilankoyil Peruma nadigal, Tirumantrasalai Perumanadigal and Tiru vengatattu Perumanadigal and mentions some arrange ment for lease of lands on the same terms as those prevailing for the above three deities. Though the material furnished in this inscription is insufficient tc give a proper idea of the transaction, it shows that there were three deities at Tiruchchoginur, one of which was the main deity Tiruvengatattu Perumanadigal, the deities of Tiruvilankoyil and Tirumantrasalai being probably images installed in the Balalayam and Mantrasalai. These references would appear to indicate that the temple of Tiruvengatattu Perumanadigal at Tiruchchoginur was consecrated just a few years before 830 A.D. and that the Balalayam and the Mantrasalai constructed in this connection, in the same locality, also received separate grants, while the construction of the main temple was progressing. The mention of Balalayam and Mantrasalai clearly suggests the recentness of consecration of Tiruvengatattu Perumanadigal at Tiruchanur to the date of the grant (i.e.) 830 A.D. The

temple was very probably consecrated towards the last quarter of the eighth century.

Mr. Venkayya who visited Tiruchanur in 1904 made some valuable observations about the locality and referred to this inscription in the Epigraphical Annual Report for 1904 (p. 6, para. 10). His notes are extracted below:

"From Tirumala I proceeded to Tiruchanur which is popularly known as Chiratanur and as Padmasaras among the Madhvas. The village derives its main importance from the temple which is now dedicated to Alamelumanga, the consort of the God at Tirupati and which is comparatively recent one. It is doubtful if this Goddess was the presiding deity of the place in early times as well. The most ancient shrine of the temple which is said to have been called Sundararaja Perumal was pulled down a few years ago and the ancient inscriptions which it contained were all scattered.* Some of the inscribed slabs are found at the entrance to private houses. In some of these fragments

* *Note*:—Mr. Venkayya was apparently misinformed that the site of Ilankoyil was in the present temple enclosure and that the shrine of Sri Sundararaja Perumal had been built on it and that therefore it is the most ancient shrine of the temple. Ilankoyil was a separate temple, situated about a furlong to the north-east of the present temple. After the main images of the Ilankoyil were transferred to other permanent temples, it was abandoned and the building materials were used for other temples and even private houses. The gopuram at the entrance and the present shrine of Sri Sundararaja Perumal were constructed partly from the materials of the abandoned Ilankoyil. The shrine of Sri Sundararaja Perumal was built, in the enclosure, about 70 years ago and even the idols are new, the Perumal being modelled on the image of Sri Venkatesvara. This accounts for fragments of inscriptions of Ilankoyil being found in the Padmavati Amman temple and elsewhere. There is still a huge mutilated image of a Dvarapalaka, bearing Shanka and Chakra, in the two upper hands, lying on the site of Ilankoyil.

the village is called Tiruchchoganur, Tiruchchoginur, while th form Tiruchchuganur occurs in later inscriptions found at Yog Mallavaram which is quite close to Tiruchchanur. Thus th connection which is claimed for the village with the sage Suka not warranted by earlier records. The temple or at least th shrine which has been pulled down was apparently known i ancient times as Ilangoyil. In one of the Tanjore inscription of the Chola King Rajaraja I (S. I. I. Vol. II No. 66) reference made several times to the Tiruvilangoyil temple at Kadambu Here there is nothing to prove absolutely whether Tiruvilangoy was a Saiva or a Vaishnava temple. The Tamil work Periya puranam which gives an account of the 63 devotees of Siv mentions the Ilangoyil at Miyachchur which must be Saiv Again in the Nallur grant of the Vijayanagara King Harihar [published by me (Ep. Ind. Vol. 3, p. 126, V. 24)], Yalangov which is a popular form of Ilangoyil occurs as the name of a Saiv temple. The word Ilangoyil means ' the house of the young king and may be taken to denote a shrine of Subrahmanya. Thus ther is reason to suppose that the shrine in the Tiruchanur templ which has been pulled down was originally called Ilangoyi and was therefore Saiva. From the earliest hitherto discovere inscription of the place (No. 262 of 1904) it appears that this shrin was built as an accompaniment of the temple at Tirupati knowr at that time as Tiruvengatattu Perumanadigal. Perhaps thi can be taken to support the popular belief that the deity at Tiru mala was originally Siva."

The suggestion that Yalankoyil might be taken tc denote the shrine of Subrahmanya on the basis of the existence of Ilankoyil at Miyachchur, which is a Saiva shrine, cannot be supported from the original reference which indicates that when Sundarar visited Miyachchur there was a Balalayam and also the main temple. He is said to have sung about the Balalayam first and subsequently on his being told that there was a separate main temple he had sung about it also. The phrases "torrum koyilum" and "Tonriya koyilum" indicate the existence of a permanent temple and a

Balalayam,* but as he had sung about both the temples, both were considered sanctified and the Balalayam became a permanent temple. Yalankoyil or Ilankoyil means a 'Balalayam' and has no reference to Siva or Vishnu. Balalayam, it may be noted, is a temporary structure, where images are installed for worship till Kumbhabhishekam, while the main temple is either under repair or construction. Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar is of the opinion that Ilankoyil means the "House of Balakrishna" and that therefore it indicates that the God on the hills is Balakrishna! The meaning of Yelankoyil as Balalayam is also adopted in the Devasthanam Epigraphical Report. If it was meant to refer to the consecration of an image for the Tirumalai temple, the Balalayam and the Mantrasalai would have been built on the hill close to the temple and not seven miles away from it, down the hill. This would add one more incongruity to the

* சம்பந்தர்—57 திருமீயச்சூர் இளங்கோயில் :—

தோற்றுங் கோயிலும் தோன்றிய கோயிலும்
வேற்றுக் கோயில் பலவுள—மீயச்சூர்
கூற்றம் பாய்ந்த குளிர் புன்சடையாற்
கேற்றங் கோயில் கண்டீர் இளங்கோயிலே.
வேதத்தான் என்பர் வேள்வியுளான் என்பர்
பூதத்தான் என்பர் புண்ணியன் றன்னையே
கீதத்தான் கிளருந் திருமீயச்சூர்
ஏதந்தீர்க்க நின்றாரிளங் கோயிலே.
கடுக்கண்டன் கயிலாய மலைதனை
எடுக்கலுற்ற விராவணனீடற
விடுக்கணின்றி வெகுண்டவன்—மீயச்சூர்
இடுக்கண் டீர்க்க நின்றாரிளங் கோயிலே.

திருநாவுக்கரசர் : கடம்பை இளங்கோயில் தன்னின் உள்ளும்
கயிலாய நாதனையே காணலாமே.

It is said that a Balalayam exists one mile east of Thirukkarakoyil at Kadambur.

identification of the lone God on the hill, as Vishn as Vishnu is never found without his two consorts; least, there is no other example of a shrine for a sing Goddess to Vishnu at such distance from the God. will therefore be seen that Tiruvengatattu Perum nadigal, the Vishnu shrine celebrated in the songs the Alvars, refers to a temple at Tiruchchoginur or th modern Tiruchanur and not to the temple on Tirumal or Venkatachalam. The reference to the combine character of the image is general, as most descriptions Vishnu and Siva in the literature from the fifth centur to the eighth, represent each as forming a part of th other (please see the stanza on p. 117). The early Alva express only this conception in their songs, which has n special reference to any particular temple. Happil they had none of the present day sectarian animosity t Siva. Being saints who had attained self-illuminatio they could see only one Absolute Brahman without nam and form. Their concern was more to propagate th Hindu religion and secure it against the attacks of hereti sects than to create divisions in the existing Hind society.* Poygai Alvar, Bhudat Alvar, Pey Alvar an Tirumalisai Alvar are stated to have been contempora ries. Though the Vaishnavite traditions compute thei date as 862900th year of Dvaparayuga, according t the historical dates furnished for the Alvars an Acharyas (Table II-A of the Devasthanam Inscription Vol. VI, Part II) Tirumalisai Alvar's date i

* "The Sri Vaishnava chroniclers make justly a distinctio between the Alvars and the Acharyas, the former being saint who had realised Brahman and had personal enjoyment of hi grace, whereas the latter were learned propounders and elabo rators of the philosophy contained in the works of Alvars an were certainly lower than the Alvars." History of Sri Vaishnava by T. A. Gopinatha Rao. P. 29. (University lectures 1917).

720 A.D. This is also the period accepted for the Mudal Alvars. The temple of Vishnu at Tiruchanur must have come into existence about this time and the Alvars, like the Saivite Nalvars of the time, have sanctified the shrine by singing about it. Every one knows the importance attached to shrines included in the songs of saints as "Padalpetra Sthalams". The Alvars' songs only follow this tradition. Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar contends that references, "such as *Ilam Kumaran tan Vinnagar*" in the songs of Alvars cannot imply "that the presiding diety at Tirupati is *Ilam Kumaran* (the youthful youngman and therefore Subrahmanya) as the youthfulness of the deity is under reference in dozens of other places where the frolicsome youth is unmistakably described as the youthful Krishna or Balakrishna and as such the equation with Skanda Subrahmanya cannot hold". We entirely agree. This unmistakably refers to the Krishna's shrine at Tiruchanur and this again confirms the identification that the Alvars were only referring to the shrine of Sri Krishna or Manavala Perumal at Tiruchanur.

The first Pallavas were Saivites and Nandivarman II is described in the copper plate charters as a devout worshipper of Mahesvara. His successor Paramesvaravarman II had a brief reign and was followed by Nandivarman Pallava Malla. The beginnings of Vaishnavite influence are seen about this time. This is also the period when the Mudal Alvars, who were natives of Tondamandalam, started preaching their Bhakti cult in the Tondamandalam country. The fruition of their activity in this region is the Vishnu shrine at Tiruchanur, the construction of which might have been begun sometime in the last

quarter of the eighth century. That it did not contain many Vaishnava families, even then, can be inferred from the fact that more than three centuries later Ramanuja had 'established a number of Sri Vaishnava families at Ilamandayam, a village near Tirupati, which he purchased for the purpose.'

The late Mr. T. A. Gopinath Rao, in his History of Sri Vaishnavas, also observes: "All things considered, the Pallava period corresponding to the first quarter of the 8th century (Christian era) appears certainly to have been one of great Vaishnava activity all over the Presidency, in Tondamandalam as well as Pandya and Chola countries. It would not be wrong therefore to assign the Mudal Alvars and also Tirumalisai Alvar to this period."

The foregoing facts clearly prove that the early Alvars were only celebrating in their songs the Krishna's shrine at Tiruchanur as the Vishnu's shrine in Vengadam. Support for this view is found in an unexpected quarter viz. a paper entitled "Vengadam is not Tirumalai referred to in the Tiruvandadi" read before the Tenth Oriental Conference held at Tirupati in 1940, by Mr. A. M. Satagoparamanujachariar. The original paper could not be got and the following extract is taken from the summary published in the conference proceedings. Whatever might have been the point the author was driving at, his analysis of the contents of the Alvars' songs is all that we are concerned with.

He states that "the Mudal Alvars do not speak of Tirupati Tirumalai at all but refer to Vengadam in several places as exclusively belonging to Narayana and

not to Sankara Narayana. The classical works Silappadigaram and Purapporul Venbamalai speak of the deity at Vengadam as entirely Narayana and not Sankara-Narayana. The former work says that the idol holds the Sankha in his left hand but Pey-Alvar says that he holds the Mazu. I think, therefore, that the Tirumalai with the Sankaranarayana idol would have been different from Vengadam. There are Tirumalais in several districts, such as Polur-Tirumalai, Sri Parvatam (Tirumalai) etc. Tirumalai might have been identified with Vengadam during the Post-Mudal Alvar period and the Sankaranarayana idol might have been established in Vengadam at a period after the Mudal Alvars. In one or two places only the other Alvars refer to Tirumalai and to Sankaranarayana idol, without connecting them both.

"In the Sangattamil Vengadam is not spoken of as a religious centre; "Pulli" is spoken of as the Lord of Vengadam. It became a religious centre only after the period of Simha Vishnu. Sivaprakasa and Arunagiri speak of Vengadam as exclusively a Vaishnavite centre in their works."*

It is thus seen (1) that Vengadam and Tirumalai were treated as separate shrines by the Mudal Alvars and there is no warrant to connect Tirumalai with Vengadam on the authority of their songs; (2) that 'Sri Parvatam' Tirumalai (Srisailam) is different from Vengadam; (3) that the description of the image in Silappadigaram and that in the famous song of Pey-Alvar, "Thazh-Sadai-u-Neen-mudi-u" describe two entirely different idols; (4) contrary to the views of Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, that from the time

* "*N.B.*—Vennagaram referred to in Tiruvandadi is not yet identified properly."

of Pulli, Vengadam was noted for its festivals, we are told that Sangattamil does not speak of Vengadam as a religious centre and that it acquired religious importance only after the period of Simha Vishnu—i.e. just about the time we are referring to; (5) Vengadam was a shrine exclusively devoted to Narayana; and (6) that the other Alvars also refer in one or two places to Tirumalai and Sankara-Narayana idol but do not connect them both.

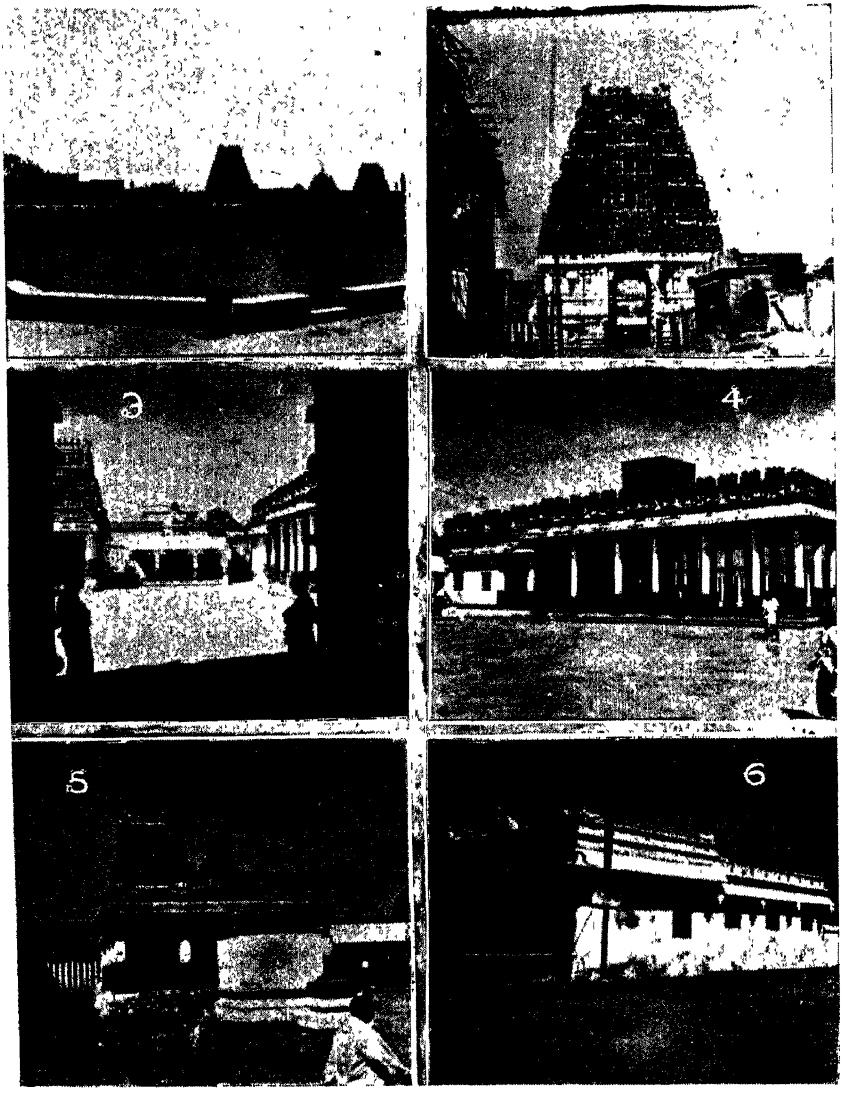
The above summary of the Alvars' references to Vengadam and Tirumalai, will go to confirm our suggestion that they were celebrating only the temple at Tiruchanur which was their Vengadam and not the shrine of Tirupati - Tirumalai, on the Sriparvatam (Srisailam) range.

Tiruchanur (Vengadam) is even now a shrine dedicated exclusively to Narayana and a Vaishnava centre. During the period of the Vijianagar kings of the second and the third dynasties, it was a very influential Vaishnava centre.

The inscription of 830 A D. (on page 118) refers to the installation of an image, in Tiruvilankoyil, in Tiruchanur for Tiruvengadattu - Emperumanadigal. Two inscriptions, in Tiruchanur, Nos. T.T. 18 and 19, assignable to the third quarter of the tenth century, i.e., about a century later, refer to setting up of a silver image of Manavala Perumal in the same Tiruvilankoyil. Another inscription in Tiruchanur No. 222 G.T., assignable to 1220 A.D. mentions the shrine of Alagiya Perumal and states that a certain village, the name of which is lost, was an ancient grant for Alagiya Perumal.

The evidence supplied by the above series of records is sufficient to prove conclusively, that the God of the

Tiruchanur Views.



[*Photo by: Luz Studio.*

1. Padma Saras with the Temple in the background.
2. Entrance Gopuram to Padmavati Amman Temple.
3. Sri Krishna's Shrine opposite to Entrance Gopuram.
4. Padmavati Amman Temple.
5. Sundararaja Perumal Temple.
6. Suryanarayana Svami Temple on the banks of the Padma Saras.

Tiruvilankoyil in Tiruchanur was variously designated as Tiruvengadattu-Emperumanadigal, Manavala Perumal and Alagiya Perumal. It is common knowledge that Sri Krishna is often described as Alagiya Manavala Perumal. It will now be clear that Tiruvilankoyil was a Bālalayam constructed to house the images, temporarily, till the present Krishna's temple was got ready and that it had been abandoned after the images were transferred to the main temple. In this case, on account of a few separate grants made to it, the Ilankoyil seems to have been maintained for a much longer period than it is usual to retain such structures. (cf. Miyachchur, P. 123.) Though Tiruvilankoyil was the most ancient of the shrines in Tiruchanur, its site can still be localised but there is no trace of a separate temple of Alagiya Perumal. It is obvious that the inscription of 1220 A.D. only refers to the present shrine of Sri Krishna. This is even now the central shrine of the temple facing the entrance gopuram, the shrine of Sri Padmavati being a later addition. The shrine of Sri Sundararaja Perumal was added about seventy years ago. The Devasthanam Epigraphist's identification that Alagiya Perumal 'must be the present Sundararajasvami enshrined within the temple of Sri Padmavati at Tiruchanur' is entirely without any basis. He was apparently misinformed, by the priests of Sri Sundararaja's shrine, that the image is a representation of Alagiya Perumal to give the modern shrine a halo of antiquity. The sculpture of the images is modern and the image of the Perumal is a poor imitation of the image of Sri Venkatesvara. The above analysis of the early inscriptions, all of which occur in Tiruchanur, will show that there is nothing in their original texts, suggesting any connection between Tiruvilankoyil and Sri Venkatesvara. It

was an unwarranted assumption of the Devasthanam Epigraphist that the images installed in Tiruvilankoyil in Tiruchanur, were the processional images of Sri Venkatesvara, on the top of the Tirumalai mountain. Apparently, his Tamil Assistant was obsessed with the notion that every early inscription, found in any locality round about Tirupati, should be linked with Sri Venkatesvara to give the God a longer age as Vishnu. No wonder sectarian writers take advantage of these errors. Another curious circumstance in connection with these inscriptions is, that records Nos. T.T. 18 and 19, which relate to the gift of a silver image of Manavala Perumal to Tiruvilankoyil in Tiruchanur, are inscribed on the walls of Tirumalai temple, it is said, under the orders of Vira Narasinga Yadava, in 1249 A.D.; whether Vira Narasinga ordered it or not, from the admission, in T.T. 17, that they are copies, we may safely infer that the silver image of Manavala Perumal was transferred to the Tirumalai shrine at least three centuries after its original installation in Tiruvilankoyil. The Devasthanam Epigraphist identifies this image, as the silver image now designated Bhoga-murti, in the Tirumalai temple. This explains why the Vaishnava priests concentrate all their worship on this image of Vishnu, while rendering only superficial homage to the main image of Sri Venkatesvara. Even the name Venkatesvara, with its saivite ending 'Isvara' is offensive to the ears of the later day orthodox Vaishnavas; they prefer to address the God as Srinivasa Perumal. It may be pointed out, however, that this name does not occur as the name of 'Tiruvengadamudaiyan' in any of the inscriptions up to the end of the fifteenth century. Perhaps the name came into vogue about the end of the seventeenth or the beginning of the eighteenth century, when, owing

to the collapse of the great Hindu power and the prevailing unsettled conditions of the country, the Vaikhanasa priests were left in uncontrolled charge of the temple. The tutelary deity of the Vaikhanasas is God Srinivasa. They seem to have gradually substituted this name for the main image as also for the silver image. Manavala Perumal now emerges as Bhoga-Srinivasamurti, thus, conciliating the Vaishnavas of the rival cults of Vaikhanasa and Pancharatra, to render him united homage.

The foregoing facts will be sufficient to prove that the Mudal Alvars were not at all thinking of the Sri Venkatesvara in their addresses to Vishnu and that their Vengadam was Tiruchanur. There is nothing in their songs * to indicate that they even visited the shrine of Sri Venkatesvara, which was then located on the inaccessible heights of the Sri Parvata range amidst impenetrable forests.

The Yadava chiefs, who became powerful in this region about the beginning of the twelfth century, were the first to cut path-ways to the hill shrine from Tirupati and Chandragiri.

Note: Incidentally, it may be mentioned that Narayanavanam (the seat of the mythical Tondaiman Chakravarti of Venkatachalamahatmyam) is described in the early inscriptions as forming part of Tiruvengada kottam. The early links were between Tiruchanur, Chandragiri and Narayanavanam which were probably the first settlements to be formed in the mountain valleys after the reclamation of the region by cutting down the forests. Perhaps Narayanavanam was also an early Vaishnava centre.

CHAPTER IV

SIVA-VISHNU CONTROVERSY

The only authority on which the claim that the temple on the hill was that of Vishnu prior to Ramanuja is a passage in Silappadigaram referring to the God on the hill. This work was fancifully assigned to first century A. D. but later researches assign it to the eighth or ninth century. Even then we are warned not to place much reliance on its authority. Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar however relies mainly on this book, for his thesis that the Tirumalai temple was that of Vishnu from the first century A. D.

Mr. K. V. Subramania Aiyar observes "We can safely accept Mr. Swamikannu Pillai's date 756 A.D. for Silappadigaram. Still we cannot but maintain that the matter contained in this and other works of a similar nature is useless for purposes of history. If we are asked to explain further why we adopt the accounts furnished in Purananuru and Pattupattu as come down to us from the hand of Perundevanar—an author who cannot be said to have lived earlier than the date (A.D. 756) assigned to Silappadigaram, we would say that Perundevanar stands in the high position of an editor of some older and trustworthy historical documents of great merit, while the authors of Silappadigaram and other similar works appear before us as mere story-tellers and that their compositions are full of improbabilities, impossibilities, and inconsistencies."

Earlier in the course of the same discussion he states "Although Silappadigaram and Manimegalai are classed among the Sangam works, serious doubts may justly

be entertained as to whether they speak of contemporary kings and events; and therefore great caution is necessary before utilising wholesale the materials contained in them. Several savants of Tamil literature would not like this remark." (For further discussion of the matter please see Historical Sketches of Ancient Dekhan pp. 95 ff). We can therefore dismiss the authority of Silappadigaram on this question as the particular passage was either an interpolation or one of the anachronisms found in the book. Further, as pointed out already, the description of the image in Silappadigaram does not agree with the image of Sri Venkatesvara and may not refer to this shrine at all.

The next point to be clarified is about Tondaman Chakravarti the supposed "Human founder of the temple" on the hill. Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar at first tried to identify him with Tondaman Ilan Tiraiyan and finally decided to treat him as a predecessor of Ilan Tiraiyan. According to the genealogical lists, Ilan Tiraiyan is the grandson of Karikala whose date is 550 A.D. The grandson should have come about 60 years later. We do not hear of any Pallava or Chola king bearing that name reigning at Kanchi about this time; Venkatachalamahatmyam, which is relied on for connecting Tondaman with the temple, states that Tondaman was the son of a king named Suvira by his wife Nandini. Tondaman married a Pandyan princess named Padma. He claimed to belong to Chandravamsa. The Mahatmyam says that he was asked in a dream by God Sri Varahasvami, whom he had rescued from an anthill, to build only the compound walls, as the Vimanam and other structures would be put up by Narayanaraja, one of his successors. The local manuscript in Narayana-

vanam refers to Narayanaraja as the grandson c Tondaman Chakravarti, whom Govasambana Raja, th ancestor of Akasa Raja, had solicited for the gift to hir of the Narayanavanam country. We do not hear c Pandyan influence in this tract of country earlier tha 1251 A.D.; Jatavarman Sundara Pandya I was the firs Pandyan king to penetrate into Tondamandalam an conquer it. The reference to Tondaman as belongin to Chandravamsa, to which the Pandyan kings claim t belong and his marriage to a Pandyan princess woul indicate that he was a later local chief of the Salv family, who married a princess of the Western Pandy family. Both the Salvas and the Western Pandya chie were of theYadava stock. Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar in his 'Ancient India', identified Tondaman Chakravart with Karunakara Tondaman, the general of Kulot tunga I. "It will be seen that the Vaishnava account say that the God on the hill had just lent his characteristi weapons, his disc and the couch, to Tondaman Chakra varti. This evidently refers to the conquest o Kalingam by Karunakara Tondaman about 1111 A.D." What interest the Tirupati God had in Karunakar Tondaman and his conquest of Kalingam, he doe not explain.

The North Arcot District Manual furnishes ar extract of an article by Mr. Elliot, in the Madra Journal of Literature and Science, bringing to notic the existence of a local manuscript which gives ar account of the Salva or Saluva chiefs, who, having migrated from Pittapuram, reigned in Narayanavanam from the ninth century. In 930 A D, Narasa Reddi a chief of the family, was formally recognised by the Eastern Chalukyan Emperor and permitted to use the

* Ancient India p. 215.

Boar signet. These chiefs were ruling the country, now comprising the Sholinghur, Tiruttani and Tirupati taluks, with varying degrees of fortune, till they were conquered by the Vijianagar kings to whom they remained subject. Inscriptions of these chiefs have not so far been discovered, but the area around this locality has not yet been fully surveyed by the Epigraphical Department. Mr. B. L. Rice in his summary of the inscriptions in the Epigraphica Carnatica, published in "Mysore and Coorg from Inscriptions", gives details of a family of Saluva or Salva chiefs, who had their capital in Sangitapura or Haduvalli in the Mysore State. They were of the Yadava stock and claimed to belong to Chandravamsa and were Jains. The Narayanavanam family and the later Saluva Emperors of the second Vijianagar dynasty were Saluvas of the Yadava stock. The Yadava dynasty of kings, who contributed so much to the temple, probably belonged to a branch of the same family. There was another family of Yadava chiefs who styled themselves Pandyas of Uchchangi, a fortress south-west of the Bellary District. These chiefs also claim to belong to Chandravamsa and Kasyapagotra, which are also adopted by the present Rajas of Karvetnagar; one of the titles assumed by them was "Boon Lord of Kanchipura". It is possible that Tondaman* was a prince of the Saluva family who married a Yadava-Pandyan princess Padma. Between the tenth and the fifteenth centuries, Narayanavanam was a stronghold of Yadava families of various

* The several genealogical lists referred to earlier, show Tondaman of the Tirupati legend as a successor of Krimikanta. As we do not yet know of a Chola king named Tondaman, the lists may only refer to a local chief. At any rate, there is no warrant to connect Tondaman Ilan Tiriayan with the Tirumalai shrine.

branches, which styled themselves as Yadavas or Salv or Saluvas. After the break up of the Western Chalukya power, several feudatory families of chiefs who carved o small principalities for themselves, adopted Chalukya emblems and titles. Their early religion was Jainisı Even Vishnuvardhana was a Jain prior to his alleg conversion to Vaishnavism. His queen Santalade was a devoted Jain. 'She constructed the Ganohat rana Basti at Sravana Belagola in memory of h mother who was an ardent Jain.' The existence rock-beds on the summit of the Nagiri hills, close the Saluva capital, Narayanavanam, and the remai of Jain temples within the Chandragiri Fort, noticed b the late Mr. Venkayya (in the Archaeological Report fc 1904), show that the early religion of these chiefs wa Jainism. They seem to have been first converted to Har hara cult and later on to Vaishnavism.* They appea to have been devotees of the Jain Goddess Padmavat Her marriage to God Sri Venkatesvara may merel mean the absorption of the Goddess into the Hind pantheon after the conversion of the chiefs to Vaishna vism. As observed by Mr. M. S. Ramaswami Aiyanga "Such Jain foundations are so subtly disguised ver often by the theological zeal and ingenuity of the later day revivalists, that while the fact illustrates the ab sorbing catholicity of the latter, it confuses all traces c historic continuity" (Studies in South Indian Jainism)

Though the Tiruchanur Goddess is popularl called Padmavati, there is no image of Padmavati, th daughter of Akasaraja of Narayanavanam, either or the hills or in Tiruchanur. The temple of th Goddess at the latter place is dedicated to "Alamelu

* Please see inscription No. Dg. 41. Epi.—Car.

mangai" or "the Lotus Born" "Lakshmi", who emerged out of the tank, Padmasaras, in answer to the penance of the God. She is a different Goddess altogether, for whose origin there is an independent legend. Thus, only the name of Padmavati is preserved in the tradition and the Goddess has disappeared. The form of worship in Tiruchanur temple is said to be according to the Pancharatra Agama, while the worship on the hill is according to Vaikhanasa Agama. These point to the later linking of the Tiruchanur shrine with the Tirumalai shrine, without changing the Vaishnavite character of the worship of the Goddess. In the Shakti forms of worship adopted in the hill shrine, we have perhaps some echo of the Padmavati cult practised in the temple.

Incidentally, it may be mentioned that though the Venkatachalamahatmyam refers to the Mahalakshmi temple at Kolhapur, as the place to which the God first went in search of the Goddess, there is nothing in the present institutions of the temple at Tirumalai connecting it with the Kolhapur temple in any way. The Silharas of Kolhapur were Jains and the story has probably some reference to the time of the absorption of the Padmavati cult into Lakshmi worship both at Tirupati and at Kolhapur.

Coming next to the origin of the several subsidiary shrines on the hill, we find that inscriptional reference to Sri Varahasvami occurs only in 1378 A.D.; the references to Narasimha's shrine and the images of Sri Rama and Sri Krishna, installed within the sanctum, occur only in the beginning of the fifteenth century. Another feature uncommon to Vishnu temples is that the shrine to Garuda was the last to be built (1512 A.D).

No further proof is needed to show that these Gods hac no place in the hill temple till its transfer to Vaishnavas Several of the Vishnu temples and the mutts even ir Tirupati came into existence only from the fifteentl century. The first Jiyangar's name we come across is that of Mullai Tiruvenkata Jiyar in 1387 A. D (Harihara II). We have already alluded to the transfe of the silver image of Manavala Perumal to Tirumala to serve as Bhoga-Murti.

Mr. A. F. Cox, who had personal knowledge o Tirupati, (in the North Arcot District Manual, 1·8(edition, which is acknowledged as the best of the series of District Manuals published by Government writes as follows:

"There can be no reasonable doubt that originally the idol was worshipped as Siva. This is *denied by non* and the story goes that Ramanujachari asserting tha it was all a mistake, and that the Swami was Vishnu procured a Chank and a Chakram of Gold, which he placed before the image and closed the temple doors When they were next day opened, these ensigns were found grasped in the idol's hands, which was regarded as a proof that he was Vishnu. The Chank and Chakram are not portions of the stone image, but are made of gold and fitted upon the two hands which point upwards. The arrangement of the hair as 'jata' or tangled mass, the cobras carved upon the body and various other peculiarities prove that Siva was intended to be represented and *the priests who are Dikshidars say that they are Saivites, though they wear Namam.* Probably the Swami who has no consort on the hill was the bachelor Subramaniaswami."

This extract is important as a record of the personal investigation of a nonsectarian historian of unimpeachable probity. It will thus be seen that nobody has till now doubted that the original character of the temple was that of Siva and that it was transferred to the Vaishnavas due to royal influence. Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar for the first time in his History of Tirupati asserts that the temple had always been of that Vishnu, even prior to first century A.D. and that it has been more or less the private property of the Sri Vaishnava community of Tirupati.*

* "The organization for conducting worship in the temple of Tirupati seems to have been more or less of a private matter and left entirely to the community concerned to manage. It seems to have been entirely the doing of the Vaishnavas of the locality interested in the matter as actual worshippers of the deity installed in the temple. Except the earliest incidents connected with the almost legendary Tondaman Chakravarti there is no mention of any state authority or royal personage having done anything towards this organisation of worship in the temple or provision therefor, through all the long period of history that we have covered. It seems to have been left entirely to the Vaikhanasa priestly family or it may be a few families who have been brought in there for conducting the worship according to that school of Vaishnava Agama worship In our comparatively scanty and broken pieces of information, which are put together there are no references to this particular so far. Such grants as have been made to the temple—and there have been a number—were more or less private grants which were allowed to be managed by the residents of the locality, stanattar as they were called, who had the management of the temple in their own hands, as in fact was the case actually in respect of shrines in villages right up to the end of the last century almost. Royal or official interference of a necessary or compulsory character, would be invoked only on occasions of extraordinary trouble or dissension beyond the power of the local people to settle. The intervention sought of the local ruler, Yâdavaraya was in this case of that particular character," (History of Tirupati—Vol. I, pp. 283-4).

In the same breath, however, he admits that th claim is not supported by the references quoted by hin The Sawal-e-jawab, which is a record prepared by th Vaishnava stanikas of the temple, honestly admits tha the God was worshipped as Siva, according to Saiv Agama for sometime and as Subrahmanya till Rama nuja's time. The account further states that Ramanu introduced Vaikhanasa forms of worship after investin the God with Shanka and Chakra and that Naga bharana and Bilvarchana, which came into vogue whe the God was worshipped as Subrahmanya, were cont nued at the personal desire of the God Himself. Th is a clear admission that both Saiva and Pancharati forms of worship were excluded and that the Saivi attributes of the God were also retained. Further, th same authority concedes that Sankaracharya installed Yantra and Akarshna Chakram near the Padmapitai of the God.

The Sriperambudur manuscript, quoted earlier, als admits that the God was worshipped as Siva until th time of Sri Ramanuja and that "He established th forms of worship, of offering of food, of bathing the Go and other ceremonies according to former custom which is still going on." After all, the connection c Sri Ramanuja with the temple is based on traditio and has not been established by any inscriptiona evidence.* It will not do to accept only the portio relating the miracle worked by Ramanuja as true an reject the previous and subsequent portions containe in the local records, because they conflict with the theor

* *Note*: Please see in this connection a paper, submitte to the tenth All India Oriental Conference, held at Tirupat by Mr. R. Rama Rao, Assistant to the Director of Archaeol gical Survey, Mysore, entitled 'Religion under Vishnuvardhana'.

now put forward, that the shrine has always been that of Vishnu. A reference to note (III) on pp. 36-38 will show that among the special utsavams performed at the temple, there is one (item 21) which is called "Sivaratri Chatra Palaka utsavam—ceremonies performed to the Chatra Palaka or Guardians of the holy place." We have no information whether this utsavam is now performed openly as before, but the observance of the festival clearly proves that the earlier Vaishnavas had not only no objection to acknowledge that the place belonged to Siva but were liberal enough to respect Saivite sentiment by continuing the special utsavam in honor of Siva; similarly, Varalakshmi Vratam and Vinayaka Chaturdhi were also preserved.

Again, there is nothing in the inscriptions to show that the Tirumalai shrine was treated as any different from other temples in the matter of state control. The manuscript account referred to in the first chapter, mentions the 'extermination' of the stanikas by Tiruverundi Yadava. Similarly Achutaraya is said to have fined the stanikas. The inscriptions show frequent enquiries into the temple affairs by royal officers. [For example: see inscriptions Nos. G T. 126, 384 & 385.] Vira Narasinga Yadavaraya passes orders on several petitions against the stanikas and recovers money from them and restores specific services which had been neglected. There was a special officer of the Government 'Adhikari Kor̤r̤mangala Mudayan' who held his court in the council chamber in the Tiruchanur temple and almost every complaint by or against the stanikas was referred to him. (D. I. Vol. I). The majority of inscriptions relate only to royal grants of villages, remission of various taxes, arrangements for irrigation of temple

lands, organization of festivals and presentation of vahanams, jewels and constructions of extensions and gopurams. Several manuscripts in the Mackenzie collection give details of the scales of allowances for the daily Naivedium and the quantities of perfumes permitted for the Abhishekam on Fridays, under each line of kings down to the time of the East India Company. There is a general complaint, in them. that the Yadava Kings granted the "Full allowances" and that the kings of the succeeding dynasties gradually reduced them.* Thus even the allowances for the daily Naivedium were subject to state sanction It is surprising that in spite of the evidence supplied by hundreds of inscriptions and other records, it should now be asserted that the administration of the temple was left to the private management of the local community of Sri Vaishnavas, and that, throughou "there is no mention of any state authority or roya personage having done anything towards the organi zation of worship in the temple or provision therefor.'

The authorities quoted previously also serve to answer the next and last contention, that only the Alvar have sung about Vengadam and that the Saiva saints have made no reference to it. We have shown at length in an earlier chapter, that Sankara installed a lingam in the shrine and gave the God the name of Sri Venkates vara for the first time and also composed a Nakshatra mala stotra in praise of the God. It has also been stated already that during the early times, the whole range was treated as one unit Sri Parvata or Srisailam sacred to Siva. Srisailam has been celebrated in the Devaram.

* Please see extract from one of the manuscripts under note to Chap. II, Part III.

So, it is not correct to say that Saivite saints have not sung about the place and start novel theories on the basis of the songs of Alvars, addressed to the shrine of Krishna, which they had brought into existence in Tiruchanur by their united labours Even the Venkatachalamahatmyam refers to the hill as, Srisailam, and the Saiva saints have sung about it. Sankara also refers to Siva established on the Seshadrisrunga in his Dvadasalinga stotra. Tirumular's reference to Siva as 'Venkatanadha' has already been mentioned (P. 75).

While the archaeologists, exploring the antiquities of Sri Parvata and Srisailam, roundly abuse Sri Sankaracharya for having brought about the ruin of Buddhist temples and viharas on the range, in his zeal to restore the pre-eminence of Hinduism, it is lamentable that owing to sectarian prejudice, modern local historians will not even acknowledge his services in the cause of their religion and to the Tirumalai shrine in particular. In refreshing contrast to this, we find the Vaishnava stanikas acknowledging, in the Sawal-e-jawab, all the past traditions and proclaiming boldly that the place is sacred to all the three schools of Visishtadvaita, Dvaita and Advaita. Neither the prestige of the Vaishnavas nor the income of the temple has suffered by this admission, within the past one and a half centuries. On the other hand, there is every reason to expect both the contingencies to arise if the present sectarian propaganda about the shrine is allowed full play.

In the Sahasranama Archana now performed daily in the temple the first name "Venkatesaya namaha" is followed by "Virupakshaya namaha" which is acknowledged to be a standard name for Siva; similar purely Saiva attributes occur in the Sahasranama such as "Urdhva

lingaya namaha", "Urdhvaretase namaha", "Nagesaya namaha", "Kapardine namaha", "Sambhave namaha", etc. The mother aspect is brought out in names such as "Mata" etc. and the Brahma aspect in the name "Swayambhuve namaha". According to the same Sahasranama, the Bijamantra for Venkatesvara is "Om" which is the same for the Gayatri mantra and denotes "Brahman". Apart from this, there are several Ashtotrás (108 names) which equate Venkatesvara with Subrahmanya. There is one Ashtotra which gives for Venkatesvara the same Bija mantra as for Bala. In one Ashtotra, Venkatesvara is described as "Kartikeya Vapuddharine namaha" (i.e.) 'bearer of the body of Kartikeya or Subrahmanya.'

Whatever attempts may now be made to lay sectarian claims to the temple, these popular traditions and upakhyanas * cannot be wiped out. These details are

* It is well known that Saturday is specially sacred to Sri Venkatesvara. In the Vratachudamani, under Sanivaravrata, the following invocatory verses describe the God as Vishnu-Skanda.

सेनानीः षण्मुकश्चाऽपि विष्णुर्लक्ष्मीपतिः स्वयं ।
वुभौशम्बुं समाराध्यतत्र वेंकटभूधरे ॥
संगतावेकभावेन सर्वभूतवर प्रधौ ।
विष्णुस्कंधात्मिकामूर्तिः वेंकटेश्वर रुपिणी ।
सर्वदेवमयी शक्तिः पूज्यिताः सर्वमानवैः ॥

—(वृतचूटामणि)

"The commander of the Deva forces, i.e. the six-faced Lord (Kumaraswami) and Vishnu himself, the Lord of Lakshmi, both worshipped Siva on that Hill named Venkata, and became united with one mind, and conferred boons to all beings.

The Sakti which comprises all the Devas appears as (assumes the form of combination) Venkatesvara whose figure is a blend of Skanda (Kumaraswami) and Vishnu." *

* Quoted by the late Mr. N. Kuppuswamiah, B. A., Tirupati.

sufficient to indicate that the deity invoked by the Bijamantra and the Sahasranamas is the Brahman and no sectarian God. Here again, we are supported by the authority of Sawal-e-jawab which states " Sri Venkatesvara is the embodiment of the Absolute Effulgence. The Lord is always changing. His grace is such that He appears to them (devotees) in the form in which they adore Him." There is sufficient proof to show that the image was worshipped as Shakti, as Siva and as Subrahmanya. Sri Ramanuja's contribution was, to add only the specific emblems of Vishnu, to present a perfect picture of the Saguna Brahman, without interfering with the previous forms of worship. Moreover, it is a well known fact that Shakti in her male aspect is represented as Vishnu and that the conception of Ardhanarisvara was developed into the Hari-Hara cult It is important to remember, in this connection, that though the temple passed into custody of Sri Vaishnavas, about seven

The Prakrit form of Vishnu-Skanda is Venhukada and Venhukada by usage becomes Venkada or Venkata. The early Naga or Cutukula kings who seem to have reigned over this region, had names as " Haritiputa Venhukada Cutukulananda Satakarini." The Ikshvaku kings styled themselves Mahasena Parighantasa; among the earlier Pallava Kings we come across names as Vishnu Skanda and Kumara Vishnu. Apparently these kings called themselves by the name of their tutelary deity, Vishnu-Skanda, the God of Venkatachalam or 'Sriparvata Swamin.' The specific name Venkatachalam might have been applied to this part of Sri Parvata on account of the existence of the ancient shrine of Vishnu-Skanda or Venhukada or Venkatesvara on this end of the mountain range. We leave it to scholars well-versed in Agama literature to explore the cults of Siva-Skanda and Vishnu-Skanda and the regions where they were practised. In a grant of Simhavarman II (Pallava) dated 378 A.D., we find the country around the Tirupati hills being described as 'Vango-rashtra' or the province of Vengadam.

centuries ago, the original tenets of the institution have remained unaltered; that is, there has been no transfer of the temple to the cult of Visishtadvaitam. The worship is conducted by Vaikhanasa priests, who, while being votaries of Vishnu, do not subscribe to the essential rites of Sri Vaishnava initiation nor do they submit themselves to the ceremony of Samasrayanam, i.e. branding themselves with the marks of Shanka and Chakra. They have more in common with the Smarthas than with Vaishnavas The ritual and forms of worship are special to this shrine and have no relation to the usual modes of worship of Vishnu. Even the face mark of the God is "Urdhva Pundram" prescribed in the Vedas for the brahmin. It is made up of refined camphor in the form of 'U' with two thick forks, and the central portion painted in musk representing raksha, (akshata). It is not the usual Vaishnava namam; mere white namam without the central red mark is sign of pollution to Vaishnavas.

The symbology suggested by the mountain range has been explained to be that of the Sri-chakra and the Gayatri-mantra, with the seven hills representing the Saptavyahritis. Such unique conception of the Supreme, in the Saguna aspect, is not found elsewhere in South India and perhaps in the whole of India. Here, nature herself co-operates with man in presenting a vision of the Absolute. The shrine, therefore, has rightly held a pre-eminent place in the affections of all sects of Hindus from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin.*

* From the Epigraphical Report for 1915, referred to earlier, it is learnt that at Srisailam, devotees worship the God directly, without the intervention of priests, as at Benares. As Tirumalai was colonized about the same time as Srisailam, the devotees to this shrine also seem to have worshipped the God directly,

At the conclusion of his discourse, Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar acknowledges, rather grudgingly, "that the image was intended to be that of Vishnu but Vishnu conceived of as the supreme deity, containing within Himself all such other deities, such as the Lord of creation, Brahma, of the God of destruction, Siva, and even the great ruler of the universe like Indra and so on. Such a conception would perhaps indicate an age, when the dominant feeling was not sectarian superiority or excellence but a period of compromise." (History of Tirupati. Vol. II, pp. 423-24).

It should however be pointed out, that it is an error to think that the unity achieved here was the result of any compromise between the rival sects. Long before the time of Sankara and the Alvars, Tirumalai was a centre, where the absence of difference between the two creeds of Siva and Vishnu was being taught The sages who founded the shrine were only presenting the essential teaching of the centre in a concrete form, viz. that man's life is the life of the spirit. They point out disci-

without the distinction of Siva and Vishnu, as found by Sankara, during his visit to Tirumalai. It would not have paid the priests to have permanently settled on these inaccessible heights amidst malarial forests.

After the congregation of population in the region below the hills, between the ninth and the thirteenth centuries, and the growth of schisms among the Vedic sects and their division into irreconcilable units, claims on behalf of each sect seem to have been put forward for exclusive possession of the temple. The Yadava King, who was probably a Jain, having been converted to Vaishnavism, transferred the control of the temple to Vaishnavas, but even his power does not appear to have been sufficient to interfere with the former modes of worship of the God and he had to appoint Vaikhanasa priests for worship, to prevent further conflicts between the Saiva and the Pancharatra sects.

plines and ways of life to free the life of the sense of Ego, so that, it may attain 'fulfilment of its true nature in unity with the Reality of which it is an aspect.' In other words, they were more concerned with Sadhana (or practice of religion) than with the hair-splitting controversies of the six systems of philosophy. Such questions, whether the spirit (Soul) retains its separate existence or merges itself with the Absolute, or whether it becomes the body of another bigger Self or remains for ever as a little self, did not worry them at all. Their chief mission was to start man on the quest to know his own true self. The other problems are matters of personal experience of the Spirit, after it establishes itself in its true state. Their annoyance at these controversies over supersensuous matters, in which only men with book learning indulge, is expressed by the Kularnava Tantra in a long passage, an extract of which is furnished below :

"Fools led by bondage of the animal nature fall into the deep well of six systems of philosophy and do not know what Paramartha is. They do not know that within the surging waves of time they are in the mighty jaws of death. The man who knows Vedas, Agamas and Puranas, but who is ignorant of the Paramartha and gives instructions, simply caws like a crow. Unmindful of the Paratatva (the Supreme), he is ever-thinking of what is knowledge and what is knowable and is immersed in study day and night. The words of such are flowing and rhetorical but at heart they are sorry and ill at ease. These take great pains to prove the Paratatva to be what it is not; they explain the gist of the Sastra to be what it is not; they explain super-conscious matters without themselves realising them." (Introduction to Principles of Tantra.)

The liberal religious outlook of the times is also reflected in the so-called heretic sect of Jainism as revealed by an inscription dated 1155 A.D. copied from Tumkur* "Obeisance to the Universal Spirit Jina, who is Siva, Dhatr (Brahma), Sugata (Buddha) and Vishnu." "In the Kannada Verse which follows, the blessings of all these Gods are invoked."

The preference for Linga worship in the earlier days of image worship was due to the fact that Siva-linga was ever considered to be auspicious for worship without any purificatory ceremonies through mantras. According to Skanda Purana, Siva prefers to be worshipped in the Linga; "Formless, without beginning or End, Eternal, Trigunatmakam, this Linga is my symbol."

The base (Avadayar) is the form of Pranava, OM—which is called, the "Bindu." The linga which arises from the base is the sound or the "Nada" of the Pranava; thus, the combination of the base and the linga, represents the Pranava mantra and the sound emanating from the mantra. The whole creation is said to emanate from the sound "OM" and there is no mantra or ceremony, which does not begin with "OM". Several Upanishads have been written on the significance of Pranava. Subrahmanya is considered not only as an embodiment of Pranava but also as a teacher of its significance. These conceptions only represent the Brahman who is denoted by the Bija mantra "OM".

The image of Sri Venkatesvara, from the chin up to the top of the crown, to a height of about two feet, is roughly cylindrical, and is even now made up to

* Tm. 9-P, 203 Epi-Car-Vol. XII-B. L. Rice.

resemble a linga with a crown ; a thick white namam, in refined camphor, starting from the mouth completely hides the nose, eyes and also covers the whole face, leaving the cheeks, which, being rounded, are lost in the cylindrical form. Thus, the unshapen dark mass denotes formlessness, while the glowing white namam, surmounted by the dazzling yellow gold crown set with brilliants and tapering upwards, the whole, resembling the picture of the sacrificial flame, represents effulgence. The devotee, meditating on the face of the God, naturally contemplates on the formless effulgence of the Supreme Brahman.

Thus, the ancients who knew the significance of these forms, made no difference between Siva and Vishnu. Even rival sects like Jainism opposed to Hinduism had no repugnance to invoke the blessings of Siva.

In the Mahabharata (Vanaparvam) Arjuna prays to Siva as follows : "Adoration to Siva in the form of Vishnu, to Vishnu in the form of Siva, to Hari-Rudra". Again, in the Santiparva, Lord Krishna declares "When the God of Gods Mahesvara is worshipped, the God Narayana the Lord, will also be worshipped. He who knows and loves Rudra, knows and loves Narayana. Rudra and Narayana are but one in principle, divided into two and operating in the world in manifested forms."

In Harivamsa, Markandeya says to Brahma, "When you show me this auspicious vision, I perceive that there is no difference between Siva who exists in the form of Vishnu and Vishnu in the form of Siva. He who appears as Vishnu is Rudra;—Bestower of boons, Creator of Worlds, Self-Existent, they are the half-male and half-female (Ardhanarisvara) and just

as fire entering into fire, becomes nothing other than fire, so Rudra entering into Vishnu, should possess the nature of Vishnu—Vishnu the highest manifestation of Rudra and Siva the highest manifestation of Vishnu are only One God though divided into two or more continually in the world. Vishnu does not exist without Sankara nor Siva without Kesava. Hence these two, Rudra and Upendra (Vishnu), have formerly attained Oneness."—Quoted by Mr. Gopinatha Rao, in the Hindu Iconography.

The Sawal-e-jawab in reply to the question, why such liberal gifts are made here, quaintly observes that the *hauteur* of the place is such that any kind of fee demanded is paid without question. Even today these exactions are continued just as they were in 1750 A. D. and devotees still pay without demur. The present annual income of the temple is over thirty seven lakhs of rupees. This amount is not contributed by any one community The pathetic endurance with which the worshippers even today submit to the exactions and the inconveniences, even in getting the darsanam of the God, after the toilsome pilgrimage to the mountain range, is in itself sufficient testimony to the hold of the God on the hearts of His votaries.

Thus, the shrine has always had a universal appeal by its non-sectarian tradition and the message it proclaims of the Oneness of the Atman and the Paramatman and of self-realisation by annihilation of Ahamkara. Incidentally, it may be noted, that tonsure, which is enjoined on most pilgrims visiting the shrine, is the first simple exercise in this conquest, which is within the competence of the poorest of its votaries. The present-day writers commissioned by the temple

world and hunger and thirst for the incomparable One."

"Many are the paths that lead to His shrine. He steals amongst us in many a strange form and guise. Let us but catch the rustle of His unknown tread. Let me but hear His whisper amidst the din and tumult of the warring sects and creeds of the world. Let me but hunger and thirst for the incomparable One.

"Poets strive to entrap Thee in the meshes of their songs. Painters burn to catch Thine hue on their canvas. Sculptors labour to enshrine Thee in their marble rare. Philosophers long to cajole Thee in the noose of their words. Vain are their strivings; they but touch the hem of Thine garment, for Thy protean form eludeth all.

"Give up all and follow Him entrusting the bark of your life to the sovereign care of the Pilot of our souls. Fitful as the lightning's flash is our frail vessel. Therefore, ye men, seek the Lord of high. Lay the axe at "Thou" and "Thine" and take refuge in thine maker. There is no other way to emerge from life's daily trifles. Be for ever lost in the unsurpassed loveliness of this glorious earth, for what is beauty but the spark and glow of the Divine?

"I grew weary of the prison-bars of the senses and embarked on my perilous journey to the distant home of my Beloved. Crossing region of love and hate, I wandered far beyond the world of good and evil. And in the illimitable void, where time spins off into eternity, where thought is not, I came on the hidden spring of all life."*

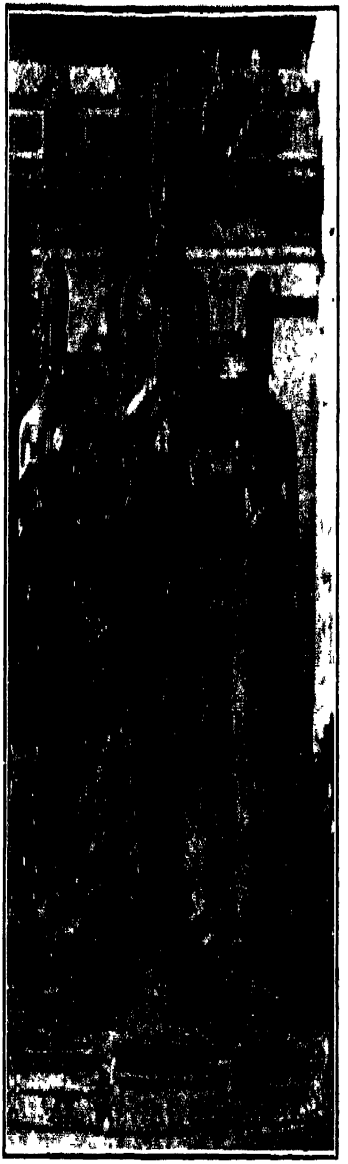
* "Grains of Gold" by R. S. Desikan and Ranganathan. Their remarks about the songs of these Vaishnava Mystics are also worth noting; "The voice we hear in our Alvars is the self same voice which breathes through a Manickavachakar, a Thukaram, a Kabir, a Jalaluddin or a Chaitanya. And the Vaishnava Saints sing in the same strain in which the Saiva mystics have poured forth their ineffable songs. In short, "all mystics speak the same language for they come from the same country." (St. Martin quoted). It is a vision which is the birth-right of all but which few use for we too hear" (Plotinus). "A trumpet sounding ever and anon from the hid battlements of eternity."—(Francis Thompson). Pfleiderer defines Mysticism "that it is the immediate feeling of the unity of the self with God" Plotinus defines Mysticism as a great adventure in quest of the unknown and as flight of the Alone to the Alone.

Chapter V

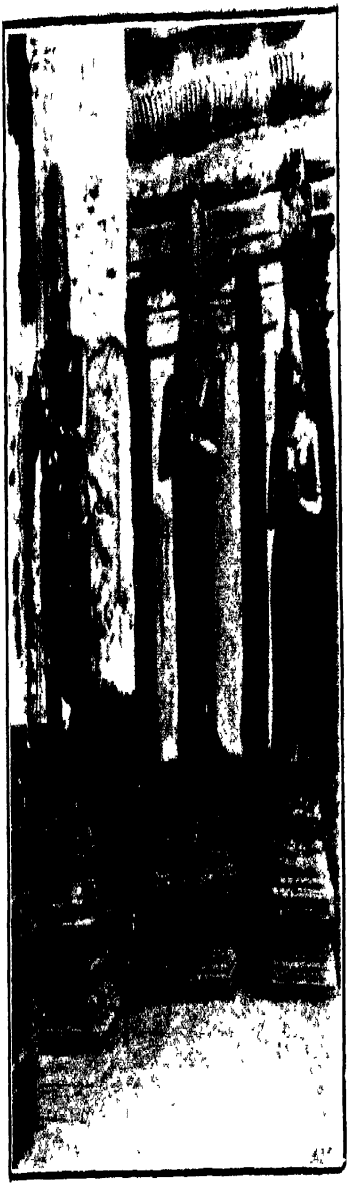
SALUVA NARASIMHA AND THE VIJIANAGAR LINE OF KINGS

There are no inscriptions of Pallava or of Chola Emperors in the hill temple recording direct grants from them. The inscriptions of Samavai, wife of Sakti Vitankan, a Pallava subordinate of Raja Raja I, relating to the consecration of a silver image of Manavala Perumal in Tiruvilankoyil in Tiruchanur and provision for its worship and festivals have already been referred to. The Yadava dynasty devoted considerable attention to the temple, organising worship, making endowments, and instituting festivals. During the time of Vira Narasinga Yadavaraya we found that the temple had been reconstructed by one Tiruppulanidasar and the King himself performed the Tularohana ceremony (weighing himself against gold) utilising the gold for gilding the vimanam. His successors effected many improvements to the temple augmenting considerably its resources. The shrine of Govindarajasvami at Tirupati was built by them. They attempted to raise the standard of services in the temple to that of Sri Venkatesvara. The next important King who beautified the temple by gilding the vimana is Saluva Mangideva, the great-grandfather of the celebrated Saluva Narasimha, who was the Viceroy of Mallikarjuna at Chandragiri, prior to his taking up the reins of Government as the ruler of the Vijianagar Empire.

With accession of Saluva Narasimha, Vaishnavism received a tremendous impetus and he set about regulating the worship in the temple under the directions



Krishnadeva Raya, Chinna Devi and Nagala Devi
on the Tirumalai Hills



Venkatapathi Raya, Founder of Chandragiri
Empire and Achyuta Raya and his Consort

of his preceptor Kandadai Ramanuja Aiyangar. In fact, the Vaishnavite character of the shrine received special emphasis only from his time. Out of a total of 1150 inscriptions copied by the Devasthanam Department, 930 relate to Saluva Narasimha and the other kings of Vijianagar line. It will swell this sketch considerably, even if a brief list of grants by each of these kings is recorded. It must however be acknowledged that in every branch, the needs of the temple were scrupulously noted and provided for. The period of the reigns of these enlightened kings is justly considered the brightest epoch in South Indian history and a grateful posterity cherishes their memory. The great Krishnadevaraya sheds a brilliant lustre on the pages of history as a great warrior, patron of letters, a devout Hindu and, above all, as the embodiment of the highest Hindu ideal of a king. In his intensely busy life, whenever he could snatch some leisure, he appears to have run to Tirumalai to his God and then to Chandragiri Mahal in the company of his literary friends. He paid, in all, about seven visits to the shrine and on each occasion showered munificent gifts on the temple. Venkatapati Raya I who reigned from Chandragiri was equally deeply attached to the shrine and under the guidance of his preceptor Tatacharya instituted several services and made liberal grants. It may be observed in this connection that Vaishnavism found its greatest patrons in Aliya Rama of Talikota fame and Venkatapatiraya and a large number of the people embraced Vaishnavism during their period.

Local traditions ascribe the use of force also by Tatacharya in making conversions. The Advaita philosopher Appayya Dikshita was a contemporary of Tatacharya. It is due to the Dikshitar's influence that

Smartha Vedic Brahmins, who were indifferent to temple worship, took to visiting temples. The temples in Tirupati received most of their wealth, jewels and land during the Vijianagar period and there were no gifts on such scale subsequent to the break up of this Hindu Empire. On the other hand, the temple started feeding the general revenues from the offerings of its worshippers. Fuller details of the endowments may be had from the Devasthanam Epigraphical Reports which have been edited with infinite patience by the learned epigraphist, Mr. Sadhu Subramania Sastri.

PART III

ADMINISTRATIVE HISTORY

CHAPTER I

BRITISH PERIOD—THE CARNATIC WARS—ATTACKS ON THE TEMPLE

It has been stated elsewhere that the treachery of Tirumala Nayaka and his confederates resulted in Chandragiri and the adjoining country passing to the control of Golconda, thus, ending the rule of Sri Ranga VI, the last of the Vijianagar Kings. The manuscript quoted previously states that, with the exception of a few, the Muhammadan rulers respected Hindu institutions and preserved them from interference. The Golconda rulers endeared themselves to their Hindu subjects by their toleration, by their consideration and munificent endowments to Hindu religious institutions. The popular story of Rama Doss of Bhadrachalam fame and of the Ministers Akkanna and Madanna, indicates the affection in which their Hindu subjects held the Sultans of Golconda. In 1686 A. D. however, Aurangazeb broke up the Muhammadan kingdoms of the south; and, on the ruins of the Sultanates, arose the Nizam of Hyderabad and the Nabobs of the Carnatic, the Tirupati shrine coming under the protection of the latter.

The ruin and devastation brought about by the inroads of the Mahrattas, closely followed by the Mogul conquest and a widespread famine, rendered the condition of the people miserable. It would appear that there were rumours that Aurangazeb was on his

way to plunder the Tirupati shrine. This threat to the shrine and the atrocities usually committed by his troops on the priests are revealed by a poem addressed to the God on the hills, by an unknown author in the form of "Nindastuti". (Descriptive catalogue—Telugu—item 1710, entitled Venkatachala Vihara Satakamu.) The following are verses taken from this book :

సీ॥ వడిగుళ్లు సాచ్చి దేవళ్లు బద్దలుచేసి, ధట్టింప తేజీలఁ గట్టినపుడు
జిగురు పాలకటంచుఁ జిరిరించు రావిమ్రాఁకులు నజ్జు నజ్జుగాఁ గొట్టునపుడు
గురుసార్వభౌముల గోడుపోసుక పట్టె, నామము ల్మ్రొదలంట నాకొనపుడు
గద్దించి వెసవైదికపుబాపనయ్యల, పిల్ల జుట్లూడంగఁ బెఱుకొనపుడు
సేక్కెమా నీకుఁ దురకలఁ జక్కసేయ విన్నవించితి నా వెట్టి విన్నపంబు
పరఁగ మీ చిత్తమిదె నాయనుభాగ్యమూర, శత్రుసంహార వేంకటాచల విహార.

సీ॥ పొట్టేళ్ల గతిఁబట్టి బోడిసన్యాసుల, ఢీయని తాఁకులాడించు నొకఁడు
సోమయాజుల బ్రహ్మసూత్రముల్ ద్రెంచి సిం, గాణివిండ్లకుఁ నల్లెఁగట్టునొకఁడు
ఖూబ్ ఘూడాయంచు గుడికీలు గుట్టము, సెక్కెఁథేయని తరలెత్తు నొకఁడు
పైకొలుగొమ్మని బల్మిఁగోమటివారి చెలువపైఁబడి బూతుసేయు నొకఁడు
యవనసమ్మర్దదుర్దినంబైన దిగుమ, తిరుపతినిఁజూడు మిటువంటి తఱిని నిదుర
పోవుచున్నాఁడు మీయన్న లేవలేక, శత్రుసంహార వేంకటాచల విహార.

సీ॥ మామిడిక్రింది సోమరిపోతు శ్రీభాష్య, కారులకేల సంగరము గొదువ
అలుమేలుమంగసొమ్ముల పెట్టియలు కొచ్చు,కొనియుండుటేచాలు హనుమనికని
తీవిని బంకమంటివిర్రు ల్సమర్పించి, తెరు గాటుకరిగెను గరువనంబి
చెంచుమిఠారితో బంచబాణక్రీడ, లోలుడయ్యెను కప్పడాల నృహరి
నీకు మదికోపమింతయు లేకపోయెఁ, బోయె గాకేమి తొండమాన్భూమిపాలుఁ
డున్న నింతకుఁ దురకల మన్నిగొనడె, శత్రుసంహార వేంకటాచలవిహార.

The threatened attack did not, however, take place. It appears to have had the effect of setting the stanikas of the temple, thinking out ways and means of preserv-

ing the great shrine from the cupidity of these iconoclasts. It is to this period that we must attribute the invention of the story of the God having borrowed money from Kubera for his marriage with Padmavati and undertaking to pay interest to him, through the kings who hold sway over this part of the country and the levy of fees on devotees for the several darshanams, of the institution of a pilgrim tax and charge of fees, in coin, of value equal to the presents offered to the God. This appears to have then resulted in an average annual income of two lakhs of rupees to the shrine. The worshippers, who were anxious to preserve the institution free from alien interference, gladly and liberally contributed towards the funds of the temple. The sultans of Golconda and their successors, the Nabobs of the Carnatic, farmed out this revenue to Hindu renters, thus realising annually a steady and certain income from it. They could not afford to forego such a fruitful source of revenue by interfering with the worship at the shrine.

The temple authorities seem to have put up a convincing story of the debt to Kubera, by actually preparing a bond relating to the transaction, which, the Archakas say, is preserved even to this day. But they are entitled to the gratitude of posterity for this daring piece of diplomacy, which, while .conciliating the cupidity of alien rulers, also, made it their interest to preserve the shrine from harm. Muhammad Ali assigned the revenues of the Tirumalai shrine to the East India Company as a sure means of discharging his obligations to the Company for having established his authority in the Carnatic. This was about 1750 A. D. The East India Company also continued the practice of farming out the revenues and contented itself with

protecting the shrine from the attacks of adventurers, who swarmed in this part of the country during the unsettled conditions prevailing after the break up of the Mogul Empire. One such attack was in 1753 A. D. by Muhammad Kamal, who marched to Tirupati. The East India Company sent a small force to protect the renter but it was surrounded by Kamal's troops upon the plain of Tirupati and driven back with great loss. On the following day reinforcements arrived and the issue of battle was once more tried. At first fortune appeared to have declared against the English, for the enemy held their ground and the English Officer in command, Ensign Holt, was killed, but when the next officer Ogilvie, continued the English attack, fortunately, the elephant which carried Muhammad Kamal was killed, Kamal was captured and executed on the spot. In 1757 A. D. again, Nazebulla, the brother of Muhammad Ali, rebelled against him and "amused himself and his followers by frequent raids on the territories of the western poligars (Kalahasti and Karvetnagar)". In August 1757 A.D. he attempted to attack the shrine "during the Brahmotsavam festival when a very large proportion of the revenues of each year are realized from the crowds of pilgrims who attend during the days it continues." "A detachment was sent from Madras which occupied the town below the sacred hills. Nazebulla's designs being thus frustrated, he retired from the neighbourhood but displayed his resentment by stopping and turning back as many pilgrims as he met, so that the income of the temple for that year was seriously diminished."*

Robert Orme in his "History of Military Transactions of the British in Hindustan" furnishes what

* A. F. Cox—North Arcot Dt. Manual.

appears to be a contemporary diary of these raids on the temple. "This temple, one of the most famous in the Deccan, is situated on the top of a mountain. The feast of the God to whom it is dedicated is annually celebrated in September and offerings made by the concourse of pilgrims, who arrive from all parts to assist it, amount to so great a sum that the Brahmins, besides what they reserve to themselves, pay the Government an annual revenue of 60,000 pagodas or £ 24,000 sterling. This revenue the Nabob assigned to the English in part of expenses they had incurred in the war, as neither the Brahmins nor the pilgrims are solicitous as to whom the money is paid, provided the feast goes on without interruption."

Towards the end of September 1758, a French Officer (Moracin) proceeded from Nellore with a detachment of troops through the woods and mountains of Venkatagiri, to attack the shrine before the commencement of the Brahmotsavam. The French Officer was accompanied by Nazebulla with his troops from Nellore and Abdul Wahab, from Chandragiri, aided them with his troops. "They arrived at the pagoda on the 5th of October, the day on which the great festival began, which lasts for 25 days. They gave no disturbance to the pilgrims but summoned the renter to dismiss his guards and deliver up the revenues, who, not having a force sufficient to make effectual opposition, made proposals to rent the revenues of this and the ensuing feasts to the French, on the same terms as he had hitherto held from the English Government and tendered a sum in hand which Moracin accepted and confirmed him in the employment. Then, leaving a part of his detachment to guard this valuable acquisition, he proceeded on the

16th, with the rest and the troops of Nazebulla to Arcot"; but this arrangement did not suit Abdul Wahab who had always coveted the revenues of the temple. He was 'much offended' and retired with his troops to Chandragiri.

In 1759 (March), during the progress of the siege of Madras by the French, the Mahrattas under Gopal Rao were encamping at Damalcheruvu, in the Chandragiri taluk. They offered assistance first to the French and then to the English but their offers were declined by both. "Gopal Rao to compensate and revenge the disappointment sent a detachment round the hill, which took possession of the town and Pagoda of Tirupati, intending to collect revenues of the approaching feast in April which the Government expected to receive." Gopal Rao had to leave Tirupati as he was wanted by his master Balaji Rao at Poona, but he left a small detachment at Tirupati under the command of an officer named Narayana Sastri and also permitted Abdul Wahab to return with his troops to Chandragiri. Abdul Wahab however utilised the opportunity to attack and drive away the Mahratta troops ; on the strength of this achievement, he applied to the Company to grant him the farm of the Pagoda, "but as his rank exempted him from control, the Presidency let it to the same renters as were holding it" previously.

Narayana Sastri took up his residence in "Karakambadi, a town in the hills, 15 miles distant, belonging to the petty Poligars but subject to a greater, called, Matlavar, with whose assistance he raised forces, mostly such as were to be found on the wilds and on the night of 30th June, by a by-path in the mountains of Tirupati, got possession of the temple on the Summit. The troops

maintained by the renter and the two companies of sepoys with Ensign Wilcox were in the town below, which commands the usual path of the pilgrims to the Pagoda." "Narayana Sastri therefore waited for another force which Matlavar was to send, when one from the rock and the other from the plain were to surprise the town. They accordingly made the attack on 9th July at four in the morning and after skirmishing for an hour were beaten off but the Mahrattas still kept the pagoda. A few days later, the town was reinforced by the Presidency, with three companies of sepoys, 15 Europeans and a small gun. *None but Indians and they of the better castes are permitted to ascend the hill on which the pagoda stands; for, the Brahmins pretend that if the summit should be trodden by forbidden feet all virtue of the Pagoda in the remission of sins would be lost until restored by an immense purification. Not apprized of this creed, the sepoys sent by the Presidency were as usual a mixture of Muhammadans and various castes of Indians. So that, out of 600, only 80 were worthy to mount to the assault and the Europeans were utterly excluded.* The renter nevertheless with 80 sepoys and his peons with matchlocks in all not exceeding 500 men ventured to attack the enemy in possession of the pagoda and was repulsed but the bloodshed in the attack did not unsanctify the pagoda."* "The mountain was in the possession of Narayana Sastri and the town in the possession of the English." Another contingent, under Major Calliaud, consisting of 200 Europeans and 300 sepoys arrived at Tirupati on 8th July 1759. "*But as before, the reinforcement of sepoys furnished few of the right sort, to attack the mountain. Calliaud therefore marched against Karakambadi with the Europeans, four companies of sepoys and two guns; the way was over the hills and valleys covered with*

* P. 502-3 Vol. II.

wood but inhabited by people fit only for skulking attacks, although of no contemptible caste, being entitled to the pagoda of Tirupati." All fit men of Calliaud's sepoys were sent to the renter's aid. The village of Karakambadi was burnt and the Poligar himself was killed in this engagement. The attack on the hill was also successful. Narayana Sastri retreated to Matlavar territory and the renter was reinstalled. "A small body of English troops was left to protect him for a time. These troops were harassed by the Poligar's peons; in a second raid on Karakambadi, Ensign Wilcox was mortally wounded and the force retreated to Tirupati."

In January 1782, Hyder besieged and took the Chandragiri Fort which was then in the custody of the Nabob's brother Abdul Wahab. He surrendered the fort to Hyder without a struggle but Hyder had no sympathy for this treacherous prince. He made him prisoner and sent him with his whole family to Seringapatam and we hear no more about him. He always coveted the Tirupati revenues and was hanging round Chandragiri in hopes of securing the income. With him passed away the last danger to the shrine. It must be stated to the credit of Hyder Ali, that he did not interfere with the temple or its revenues but allowed its institutions to continue as before. From the list of Amuldars* furnished elsewhere, we see that one 'Anikala Narasia' managed the temple on behalf of Hyder for two years from 1782 to 84. "In 1804 A.D. again, a few of the Poligars, who were not satisfied with Mr. Stratton's Permanent Settlement, seized all the passes leading to Tirupati intending to plunder the pilgrims but when a force was stationed at Tirupati

* Please see Note IV-a, Chapter II.

to protect both 'Lower and Upper Tirupati', the danger passed off."

Though these attacks on the temple did not seriously affect it, these details in the language of Mr. Orme, a contemporary writer, have been given as they furnish evidence not only of the great respect in which the shrine had been held by earlier rulers of alien faiths, but also of the elaborate and scrupulous precautions observed by them, so as not to offend the usages of the temple and the sentiments of its worshippers, whatever their own opinions might have been in the matter. The young English Ensigns in charge of the troops, risked their own lives and the lives of their men and tamely suffered defeat and loss of revenues, rather than allow Europeans, Muhammadans and the prohibited castes of Hindus to get up the mountain, even though they felt that these prohibitions were unreasonable. Mr. Orme expresses his feeling of annoyance at these prohibitions, which resulted in delaying relief to the temple, by the quaint remark "but the bloodshed in the attack did not unsanctify the Pagoda!" The occupation of the temple by the Mahratta Officers with the assistance of the local Hindu Poligars would appear to indicate that the great Hindu power tried to recover the shrine from the control of the Nabob, whose two impecunious brothers, Nazebulla and Abdul Wahab, were responsible for the several attacks on the temple, in order to secure for themselves the rich annual offerings. We have noted that the French also coveted the rich income from the temple.

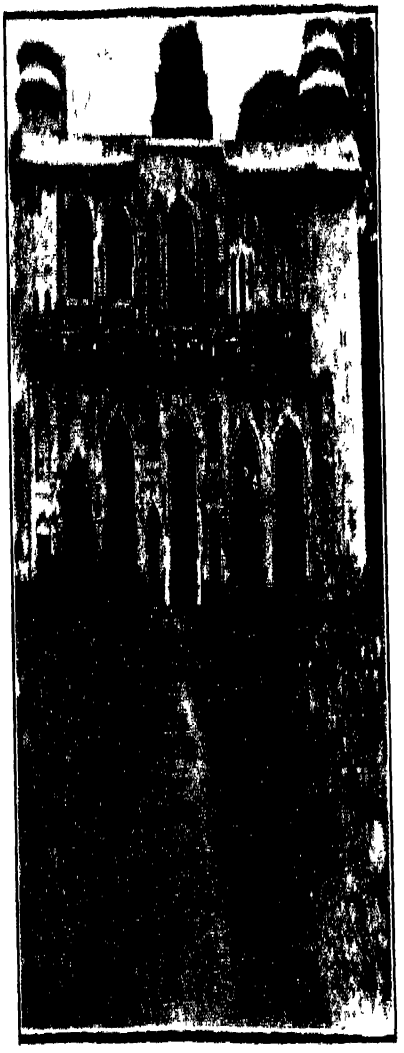
These episodes in the history of the temple may well serve as eye-openers to the present-day Hindu Governments, who impetuously trifle with the holy

institutions, which have deeprooted and sacred associations in the public mind for over 2000 years.

Ever since Hyder Ali's rise to power, the English suspected Muhammad Ali of complicity with him. On 12th July 1792, the Madras Government entered into an agreement with him, "by which the Government engaged to keep up a military establishment, towards the maintenance of which the Nabob was to pay nine lakhs annually; while in the event of war, it was stipulated that the whole of the country should be assumed, one-fifth of the revenue being paid to the Nabob. It was further agreed that the Company should collect the peishcush of the chief poligars in the Carnatic and should place the amount so collected to the credit of the Nabob." Thus, the Zamindaries of Karvetnagar, Kalahasti and Venkatagiri came under the rule of the Company. The last two Mysore wars gave the district the Kangundi and the Punganur zamidaries and also the Palmaner taluk, which was then known as Venkatagirikota taluk.

In 1795 Muhammad Ali died and he was succeeded by his son Umdut-ul-umara. The Company now sought to modify the treaty of 1792 but he rejected their proposals.

The Fourth Mysore war, in 1799, was made the occasion to demand further contributions from the Nabob, who could not comply with them. It was therefore resolved to assume the management of the Carnatic. Further, the discovery of treasonable correspondence between the Nabobs and the Mysore Government, "absolved the Government from all obligations resulting from previous treaties." As Umdut-ul-umara was on his death bed, this resolution



Rani Mahal



Chandragiri Mahal
in whose Central Hall Madras was gifted
to Francis Day.

was not put into effect immediately. On his death, terms were proposed to his son, Ali Hussain, but as he rejected them, the Company passed him over and appointed the deceased Nabob's brother Azim-ul-umara as the Nabob.

On 31st July 1801, he entered into an engagement with the Company, "by which he handed over the whole of his authority over the Carnatic and accepted a stipendiary allowance of one-fifth of its estimated revenues for support of himself and his family." Thus the East India Company became the political successor to the throne of the Carnatic.

Starting as a renter of the temple, the Company became its owner. It is a strange coincidence, that while Venkata II of Chandragiri gave them the first bit of land for the new settlement of Madras, exactly a century later, Sri Venkatesvara supplied them with the first funds to start on their career of conquest of the country. It must however be acknowledged to the credit of the Company and its servants, that they fully realized what they owed to the God and treated even the smallest detail of its institutions with utmost sanctity and reverence, while they themselves instituted several special charities at the temple; to this class belongs the "Munro Taligai" which continues to date.

Chapter II

THE TEMPLE AT THE BEGINNING OF THE DIRE(MANAGEMENT BY THE COMPANY

It would appear from a manuscript* in Mackenzie collections, entitled 'Kyfeat of the bounda of Tripetty' which contains a quaint map, showing limits of the temple estate, that prior to the Muhammac conquest, the possessions of the temple extended in East, up to the limits of Kalahasti and followed on north, roughly the present M. & S. M. Railway li upto Venkatagiri in the Nellore District; the Southe boundary, appears to have extended upto Naraya vanam and Karvetnagar; the Western bounda while including the present limits of the Chandrag taluk, appears to have extended northward along a li from Nagapatla, Devaraconda (Vayalpad taluk) a Yerraguntakota (Rayachoti taluk, Cuddapah Dirtric the Northern boundary, may be taken roughly as a li drawn from Yerraguntakota (Rayachoti taluk) to Ve katagiri (Nellore District).

We have at present no detailed information abo the arrangements in force during the reigns of t Vijianagar Kings for the administration of these estat Under the Nabobs, the villages seem to have been di tributed among a number of petty Kavalgars, wl administered them on behalf of the temple. Th collected the transit duties called, Sayer, for which, cu tom houses had been established at various centres ar

* Note (I)

they were also responsible for the police arrangements, for which they were assigned some villages on favourable rent called Kavali. Subsequent to the break up of the Vijianagar Empire, they collected, in addition, Kavali fees from all villages within their ranges. In the unsettled conditions of the country during the Carnatic wars, they assumed independence and styled themselves poligars. The most powerful among them gradually swallowed up the possessions of the smaller poligars.

From another manuscript * in the Mackenzie collections, we learn that in 1787 Muhammad Ali sent a commission, headed by a Chief Officer named Syed Mohamed Khan and an English officer named Sir Barry Close, to investigate these encroachments and that after one and half years of hard work, the commission recovered several villages but the Nabob's Government was too weak to retain them. The poligars again seized the villages and Muhmmad Ali had to confirm the villages to them, on their offer to pay enhanced peishcush.

A manuscript entitled "Yadast Dahazada of Purgunna of Tripetty: Company's circar for Sun 1211 Fusly year, Doormookee, or A.D. 1801" (Vol, XVI-p. 469 ff) states that the temple owned 187 villages in 1801. The details of the names of villages, their classification and the persons in enjoyment of them are furnished in it.

The general abstract is as follows :—

1.	Devastan Arjita ...	...	1
2.	Mounza or principal villages	156	159
	Majara or subordinate villages	3	

* Note (II)

(3) **Sayer and Cavally etc.**

1.	Pattada or different classes of keeping bazaars	1	
2.	Sayer or Chokees where customs are collected	16	
3.	Pussa Banda (cattle farms ?)	2	
4.	Muckan or establishments in the town	1	27
5.	Mohalraj or taxes on houses etc.,	1	
6.	Cavally or watching places	5	
7.	Cattubadee–lands granted to servants, peons etc., in lieu of pay ...	1	
	Total ...		187 villages

DISTRIBUTION

Villages belonging to Senior Jeyangar : Jeepalıem (main) Nellapalli (Hamlet)		2
do. Junior Jeyangar : Adusupalıem (main) Krishnapalıem (hamlet)		2
Villages to Nambees		16
Villages assigned to Acharya Purushas, Head gollar, Agraharams and Shrotrıam villages granted on favourable rent :—Chirtanur and Malur ...		13
To Byragees (1) Pareram Mahant	2	4
(2) Dayaram Mahant	2	
Other Inamdars ...		3
		40

In the hands of Poligars:		
(1) Karakambady Venkatapa Naidu, Poligar of Tirupati	5	
(2) Krishnapur Veeraraghava Naidu, Poligar of Tirupati	5	
(3) Mamandur Venkatapa Naidu	9	
(4) Damarla Timma Naidu, Zamindar of Kalahasti	16	124
(5) Bomarauz, Zamindar of Karvetnagar	36	
(6) Pamala Sesha Naidu, (Nagapatla)	34	
(7) Mogaral Poligar	1	
(8) Matlivar	18	
Remaining principal villages—	18	
Devastanam or temple	1	23
Mackan or establishment		
Sayer or custom houses	4	
Motarfa or receipt from custom houses		
Total		187

The above details may be taken as a rough guide to the disposition of the temple villages prior to the assumption of management by the Company. From this account it is seen that the Poligars of Karakambadi and Krishnapuram were styled the Poligars of Tirupati. They seem to have been specially charged with the duty of protecting the town. The two paliems lie side by side and are divided by the M. & S. M. Ry. line from Renigunta to Bombay along the Mamandur valley. The Poligar of Mamandur being at the head of the pass had the duty of protecting the village of Tirumalai and the temple. The ancient road to the south was along this route. In modern times, the Mahrattas seem to have been the first to use the road from the Mysore plateau to Venkatagirikota, Palmaner, Punganur, Kallur and Damalcheruvu on the one side and Venkatagirikota, Nayakaneri and Gudiyatham on the other. The road from Chittoor to Kolar along the Mogili-ghat and Palmaner seems to have been

brought into use by the East India Company during the Mysore wars.

From a statement entitled "Account of the villages in the hands of the Inamdars", dated fusly 1217 or 1807 A. D., (Vol. XVI. p. 474a to p. 476a), it is seen that within a very short period of their assuming direct control, the Government made thorough enquiries into the rights of parties and examined the documents in possession of the inamdars. This statement gives in detail the circumstances under which the grants were made, the names of grantors and grantees and sometimes also the date of the grant and whether a Sasanum (copper plate) exists. Some of the grants are said to have been made by pouring holy water (Dhara-Datt). When there is no writing, the keys of the temple are said to have been with the inamdars from generation to generation.

This statement also contains a general abstract of the temple villages, the number of which is now given as 174 as shown below :—

1.	Jeyangar, Yekangees and other officers of the Devastanam		36
2.	**Under Poligars**		
	Karakambady	5	
	Krishnapur	5	
	Mamandur	7	
	Kalahasti	15	
	Karvetnagar	36	120
	Nagapatla	34	
	Mogaral	1	
	Matlivar	17	
3.	**Under Circar**		
	Casba Tripetty	6	
	Chandragiri	5	18
	Gazula Mandium	7	
		Total	174

The eighteen villages in the actual possession of the Company, on behalf of the temple, were distributed among three taluks, Tirupati, Chandragiri and Gazulamandium, as shown below :—

Tirupati : (1) Casba Tirupati, (2) Peroor, (3) Chakapalli (4) Avilala, (5) 'Coodeevam', (6) 'Tundugum'.

Chandragiri : (1) Casba Chandragiri, (2) Tondavada, (3) Shanambatla, (4) Agarala and (5) Mamandur.

Gazulamandium : (1) Dornakambala, (2) Gazulamandium, (3) 'Deemeevam', (4) 'Paadee', (5) Motamangalam, (6) Motoor and (7) 'Sunupillia', (Sunnapu Palli ?)

Against Shrotriam "Chiratanur (Tiruchanur), old and new together, Agrahara of 52 vritties" we find the following interesting details regarding its extension and regrant to brahmins, by Rayoji, the famous brahmin governor of the Subah of Arcot and revenue minister under Muhammad Ali.

"In the year Bhava, Srinivasachari made a Shrotriam of 60 caveipak pagodas and made it into an Agraharam of 26 vritties, which he granted to the brahmins and gave them a written grant with Dhara-Datt (or pouring of holy water). Thereafter in the year Hevilambi, Raja Bhirbul Rayoji collected the amount of the cavallies of the above mentioned villages and built an Agrahara of 26 houses round the sacred pool, Padmasarovar, of 26 vritties, which he granted to the brahmins as Dhara-Datt."

The temple routine seems to have gone on peacefully in spite of the disturbed conditions of the country and pilgrims from all parts of India were allowed to pay their devotions at the temple. A report (Note III) obtained and translated by Subba Rao in 1804, vividly describes the condition of the temple and the falling off in the standard of honesty among the managers who

misappropriated the allowances allotted to the temple by the Government. Another manuscript, dated Fusly 1209 (1799 A.D.), entitled "*The account of Stri Venkatachallaswamy the God of Teerooputty: Historical memoir of the Purgunnah of Teerooputty belonging to the Chadraghery circar in the sun 1209 Fusly year and in the cycle year Siddartee according to Vedas, Sastras and Puranas*", states that the Yadava kings founded the temple and that they granted 'full allowances' to the temple which are set forth in detail (Note IV). The Vijianagar Rayels reduced the allowances to three-fourths while under the last six kings ending with Srirangaraya, the allowance was further reduced to one half. Lastly, under Muhammadan rule, the allowances were still further reduced to one-sixth and one-seventh. The names of twenty-eight managers or Amuldars who managed the temple from A.D 1700 to 1800 are furnished with details of improvements effected by some of them (Note IV-a). Here again, it is complained "All Amuldars having gradually reduced the allowances in order to provide money for themselves, the particulars of these allowances are not entered in the public accounts which they send to the Presence."

From Part II of the manuscript quoted in Part I-Chapter II- Routes to the Hill-Shrine, we learn that in A.D. 1800, only the four streets round the temple were thinly inhabited and that wild hogs, scorpions and snakes infested the place and that yanadies were the chief dwellers on the mountain. There is a curious warning deterring pilgrims from exploring the recesses of the mountain.

"In the woods of this mountain, a lakh of yenadies collect honey, bees-wax, chendana (or Red-wood), fruits

and roots by great exertions; these they dispose of by sale and also medicinal roots and other rare things by which they maintain themselves residing in these woods; on the mountain among the woods are several dens (caves) which no one ever enters. In one of these dens there is a road that is said to go as far as Ahobal and Srisaila; but the present people cannot ascertain it as the den goes a great way in."

Then follows the story of a Nagapatla Naik's attempt to see all the thirtams, with a party of brahmins and troops and their being prevented from completing their investigation by the appearance of a celestial army, when, all the members of the party perished. Several other reasons are given dissuading the pilgrims from the quest, such as the difficult nature of the locality and the danger of being lost in the woods.

"The streets which surround the Pagoda on the mountain are inhabited. Wild hogs, daily, at present, come into the place and remain undisturbed by the inhabitants passing and repassing through all the streets, never attempting to bite anyone, unless they are attacked and troubled and in that case the wild hog will tear the offender to pieces; otherwise they never disturb any person walking alone. Snakes also abound and frequently come in sight but never bite. If sometimes this happens, if the person bit goes into the pagoda before the God and drink a little of the Teertum and should rub a little over the place where he was bit, the poison of the snake never hurts them and thus scorpions and snakes are harmless here and give no trouble through the favour of the Bhugwunt. In this manner it is on this mountain and not as in other places. To write all that might be said of it would require much

time and labour and therefore this account is succiently wrote."

NOTE I

Kyfeyat of the Boundaries of Tripetty

Mackenzie Manuscripts: Translations & Reports
Vol. XVI, page 476-c.

About 150 years ago, in the reign of the Rayels before the country was conquered by the Mlencha or Mussulmans the Carnatic was divided out and Boundaries were fixed, within which the Revenues were settled—then to be paid to the Raja Loke (or Kings) and within these limits, the respective Forces of the Chiefs were to remain under their separate command.

Thereafter the Moguls having increased in power, began to conquer the country; the Polligars who were around the Limits of Tripetty having also become powerful reduced these countries.

THE ANCIENT BOUNDARIES OF TRIPETTY ARE AS FOLLOWS viz.

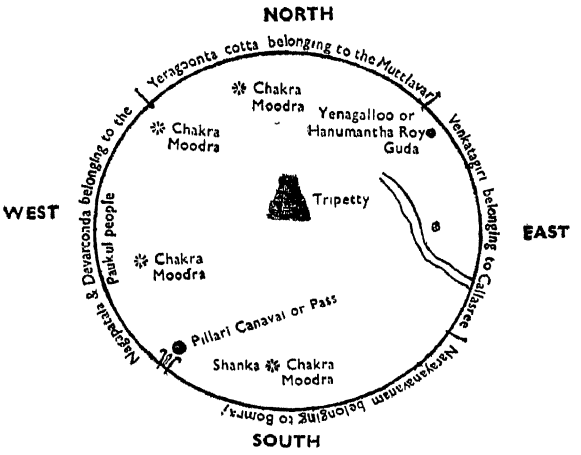
1. On the East near Callahasree beyond the bank of the Soovarn Mookaree River near a Pagoda of Iswar was placed a Boundary stone on which is inscribed the Chacrum of the swamy.

2. On the South from Narraïnvarum and west to near Pillaree canama is placed a boundary stone, with the shenka chacrum moodra.

3. West of that stone in an angle between the Hill of Devarconda towards Nagapatala Tallook, are placed boundary stones with the chacra Moodra in the Wood of Chamul-Arun'ya (chamala Forest).

4. North of Tripetty from Yaragoonta, Yenagulloo, Hanumunta Raya Gidda as far as the Cotta of Callahasree, was the Boundary; but the Muttlawar people having destroyed the petty Palligars took these countries and there is placed a chacrum-moodra.

On the four sides the Boundary extends as far as three gows.



NOTE II

Encroachments on the Temple Estate

YADAST OR MEMORANDUM

Mackenzie Manuscripts: Translations & Reports
Vol. XVI, page 476 to 476-d

Teeree valeyatoo, Valamundala & Godagull naad formed the ancient boundaries of Tripetty, but the Poligars having presented Nuzzer to the soobadar, Nabob and etc., by violence and force, they destroyed the petty Polligars and took possession of their countries; and the country beyond the boundary of Tripetty tallook was then reduced by the above mentioned Polligars.

Some time after, in the sun 1196 fusly (1786 A.D.), the Nabob Ameer-ul-umrah sent one of his chief officers Mahommed Moorad to enquire into these affairs with a strong party and guns, who arriving at Tripetty enquired into these affairs and took possession of a part of their country according to strict justice but some part of the country was not recovered because the possessors resisted or were ready to fight, but the Revenues

of the part that was taken were collected for the circar. The rest of the country being still unrecovered, in the sun 1197 fusly (1787) A. D., a chief officer Syed Mahomed Khan and an English Officer named Close, (Sir Barry Close) were sent from the Huzzoor by the Nabob Ameer-ul-umrah to determine the cause, who coming hither, made some enquiry and took possession of some villages, but others were not recovered within the one and half years that the enquiry lasted; owing to the death of Ameer-ul-umrah and the Polligars representing to the Great Nabob Wallajah, "You have possessed our countries, if you restore them to us again, we shall pay you the amount of the Revenue", he consented and they presented Nuzzers to the amount of some lacs, each according to their ability and got back the countries, and the whole being then returned to them, has thus continued still, they, paying Peishkush (or tribute) for the same.

NOTE III

Pur Jaatee

Of the Different Foreign Nations, Tribes and People who annually resort to Tripetty on Pilgrimage from Motives of Devotion. Meckenzie Manuscripts: Translations & Reports Vol. XVI, page 491 *to* 493.

1. Teruputty is revered as a Mahachatra or very holy place and many pilgrims from various dasums resort thither, viz.,

1.	Cunnud	3.	Goojur	5.	Maharastra	7.	Conkan
2.	Caanada	4.	Mahurvaada	6.	Sourastra	8.	Malleyal

Also Hindus come to visit the swamee from several other countries.

2. The following is a particular account of the stallums from whence the Parasha or Pilgrims visit this place, viz.,

ON THE NORTH FROM

1.	Caasee	4.	Hurridwar	7.	Babayola (?)
2.	Gayah	5.	Cashmeer	8.	Ayodhaya
3.	Prayag	6.	Oojanee (Ujjain)	9.	Jaganaat.

& from several other countries on that side.

3. ON THE SOUTH FROM

1. Arcot
2. Terunavelly
3. Madura
4. Rameswar
5. Malleyal
6. Anuntasaina

The Bara or (12 Malleyals) as far as the samoodra or sea, from thence all kind of people come.

4. ON THE EAST FROM

1. Chinnaputtana or Madras
2. Callasree
3. Nellore
4. Bunder or Masulipatam
5. Rajamahendra
6. Sickakole etc.

5. ON THE WEST FROM

1. Seringapatam
2. Bedanoor
3. Oodipee
4. Soobramanya
5. Goa
6. Gocurnum
7. Ickery
8. Gooty
9. Audavanae
10. Hurryhur
11. Bellary & etc.

6. Thus from all sides, so far as the Hindoos dwell, Brahmins Gosaees Byragees, Voodasees, etc. come and present Caneekees (or offerings) to the God and perform some of the ceremonies in person according to their abilities. Even Mlenchas (or Mussulmans) and English people who have made Mauuss (or vows) send Caneekee to the amount of many thousands according to their vows. To all these, according to their abilities the managers of this place who have studied the (forms and the manners of civility) as handed down from the ancient times, offer civilities, respect and presents according to their rank and thereby acquire much money. When no disturbances or troubles prevail and the country is in tranquillity and good order on all sides and people are allowed to travel in safety, by showing due respect and civility to all according to their rank, much money is collected here to the amount of (a lac) of pagodas; but in time of war and disturbance or if the managers neglect the votaries, and do not show due civility, in such cases though they bestow charity, yet, the managers suffer trouble by them and in conclusion the Revenue suffers and only amount sometimes to perhaps about 60 or 70,000 pagodas, but if a few come to whom they show some respect, they will sometimes get 40,000 or 50,000 pagodas, less or more, beyond the former sum and thus an overplus of 20,000 or 30,000 pagodas accrues to the swamee.

7. At all times the Naivedium, Abhishakum and other ceremonies are performed, as usual, without any diminution; and to these who live at this place as servants and perform tapas and to the poor who come from different countries, to all these, are distributed Naivedium (or food offered to the God). Wages are also paid to the servants without diminishing the worship and ceremonies of the God; the officers of the stallum are paid the Hucka (or customs) without trouble to these people, or the Parasha who resort hither.

8. All this has been observed regularly since the beginning of the Calleyoogum until the end of the Carnatic Government and afterwards in the time of the Mogul Government. But the allowances that were originally granted under the Carnatic Government are now reduced to one-sixty fourth part of what they formerly were, whence the worship and ceremony of the Gods are less and the people suffer more trouble and the Inhabitants here do not thrive."

The account then mentions that although, the sovereigns of latter times do still allow money for the celebration and support of the worship of the God, yet " the managers of the stallums commit Deva Drohum (or sacrilege against the God) and embezzle the revenues of the worship and thus the swamee by degrees has lost the original revenue although thousands are offered at this place. But these Deva-Droha (Sacrilegious) people, it is observed, do not thrive and cannot remove from this place to another, with life, and their vamsa or generation is destroyed by degrees and shall not increase." " Of those that have deceived the God, once a year, one, two, three or four Adhikarasta (Managers) of this place have died. Therefore people are deterred from coming here as Adhikaris, because whoever by beholding the money of the God, have their minds currupted, shall surely die and the money that is thus embezzled shall not come to use; but those persons who do not deceive the God shall live and thrive. Therefore the necessity of fulfilling this duty with awe and care."

Then it refers to the inscriptions on the temple walls and gives detailed instructions regarding the method of copying them and the existence of several copper plates which on deciphering were found to be hymns addressed to the God (Telapakam songs?)

Mentions, that in 1795 A. D. "Collo-sam-saty, the servant of an European gentleman, contracted for these taluks with the nabob. He was a pious man and whatever money was allowed by the circar he expended in performing whatever appertained to the worship of the God without fraud."

The account concludes with the following remarks:

"The Stallum people who are in possession of these copper inscriptions and know their contents and the names and dates of ancient Kings who granted them, are unwilling to discover them for fear of losing Maras and Meerasees".

(Translated by Subba Rao—March 1804 A.D.)

NOTE IV

Statement of allowances for the Daily Naivedium and the Weekly Abhishekam on Friday.

(*Mackenzie Vol. XXV pp. 67—81*)

"VI. In the time of these (Yadava) Rajahs were specially allowed the full allowances to this God, viz:

Perfumes for washing the God every Friday

1. Civet, Visses 32
2. Musk, Sear 1
3. Rose water—Tomballs 12
4. Cachoorum, a fragrant root sears 10

Daily victuals offered to the God

1.	Ghee for lamps	Moontas	50
2.	Ghee for other expenses	,,	400
3.	Oil do	,,	200
4.	Rice for one Sola is 16 Pucka Sears —For 1000 Solas is 100 Moontas.	,,	100
5.	Pasaloo (Green gram)	Moontaloo	60
6.	Meenomooloo (Black gram)	,,	50
7.	Jaggery	Maunds	20
8.	Sugar	,,	2
9.	Sugar Candy	,,	1
10.	Pepper	,,	1
11.	Yaulacooloo	,,	1½
12.	Jeelakara	,,	½
13.	Turmeric	,,	1
14.	Tamarind	,,	20
15	Mustar	Moontas	4
16.	Salt	Moontaloo	30
17.	Engoova (Hing.) Assofoetida	Viss	1
18.	Benjamin (Benzoin?)	,,	4
19.	Camphire	,,	2
20	Milk	Moontas	20
21.	Tyre (Curds)	,,	60
22.	Karivepaku, Fragrant leaves	Bundles	10
23.	Sugarcane	,,	20
24.	Limes		1000
25.	Cocoanuts		200
26.	Sandal	Maunds	2
27.	Singamaucoo Chakrauloo	In money	20
28.	Taluvumporooloo (Pieces of cloth to cover Victuals)		10

"Booragojee Puntuloo managed under Varadapa Saty, renter of Tirupati, for one year. Particulars of allowances during his management.

Perfumes

Civet—1¼ Viss Smelling (Fragrant) roots	Sears 2	Jauphara—Sear Musk—Pagoda weight	1/16 2

Daily allowance for Lamps & Victuals

Rice Moontas (at 6½ Pucka Sears per each Moonta)	50¼	Ghee	Sears 38	Turmeric	Sear 1/16
		Tamarind	„ 1⅛	In ready money	219 Fanams
		Oil	„ 15⅛		
Pasaloo Moonta (at 18 Sears per Moonta)	¼	Jaggery	„ 10⅛	Yaulakooloo	Sears ⅛
		Sumbaroo *	„ ⅕	Engoova (Hing)	„ 1/16
		Kundaloo (Pots)	Bundles 4	Benjamin (Benzoin)	„ ¼
Wheat Moontas	⅛				
Veedeoloo „	¼	Dried Ginger	Sear 1/32	Camphire	„ ¼
Salt „	⅕	Pepper	„ ¼		

During the next management, i.e., of that of 'Colausaumee Saty' the perfumes for the Friday bath were increased as below:

Civet	Visses 1½	Jauphara	Sears 1
Fragrant roots	Sears 3	Musk	Pagoda weight 3

"In this manner were allowed generally but increased somewhat more for some days."

Note. The manuscript gives scales of the allowances under each dynasty but only the "full allowances" and the scale in force at the time of the writing are alone extracted here.

NOTE IV (a)

List of Amuldars

Mackenzie Vol. XXV, page 76-ff.

The names of the Amuldars and the period of their charge are furnished in the manuscript in Saka and cycle years and the corresponding years according to the Christian era are furnished below:

The Dekanee Subah ruled by the Arcot Nabobs

		Yrs.	A.D.
1.	*Daud Cawn, Saadulla Cawn, Sabdar Ally.*		
	From SS. 1622, Vickrama to Roodroodgaary cycle year ...	44	1700—1744
	1. Auvasaralu Seetaramia managed Tirupati under this Soobah for ...	5	1700—1705
	2. Canaroo Dausaree, (Koneri Dasari?) ...	7	1705—1712
	3. Aukooloor Narasapa ...	3	1712—1715
	4. Munsauram ...	2	1715—1717
	5. Komara Venkana Puntooloo ...	8	1717—1725
	6. Tadacamala Maudhava Puntooloo managed in the Govt. of Tonda Mull...	7	1725—1732
	7. Tadalaaupu Condapa & Rauja Gopaula Puntooloo ...	3	1732—1735
	8. Ragoonaud Acharyooloo ...	9	1735—1744
		44	
2.	*Under Anuwaruddin & Muhammad Ali*		
	9. Srinivasa Charloo ..	18	1744—1762
	10. Hoogahully Venkajee ...	1	1762—1763
	11. Srinivasa Charloo ...	1	1763—1764
	12. Poorala Tirumalayogulu, belonging to Velugotiwar ...	4	1764—1768
	13. Ramalinga Mudali ...	1	1768—1769
	14. Srinivasacharloo ...	12	1769—1781
	15. "During the disturbances of Hyder Aunikala Narasia managed from Plava to Soobacrot under the Bahader" ...	2	1781—1783
	16. Srinivasacharloo ...	$2\frac{3}{4}$	1783–1785$\frac{3}{4}$
	17. Pataulbedi Somayajulu ...	$\frac{1}{4}$	1785$\frac{3}{4}$–1786
	18. Taraphau Teeruvengal Acharloo (Talapakam Tiruvengalacharlu) ... (In his management 32 jewels of the God were stolen).	1	1786—1787
	19. Raghunad Acharloo ...	1	1787—1788
	20. Appalacharloo ...	1	1788—1789
	21. Raghunad Acharloo ...	1	1789—1790

22.	Appalacharloo-upto Hon'ble Company ...		$\frac{1}{5}$	1790$\frac{1}{5}$
23.	Srinivasacharloo-under the Hon'ble Company 8 months	...	$\frac{2}{3}$	1790$\frac{1}{3}$–1791
24.	Raghunad Acharloo	...	1	1791—1792
25.	'Kanaregoo Laulah'	...	4$\frac{3}{4}$	1792–1796$\frac{3}{4}$
26.	'Aulatoora Vedauntacharyooloo'	...	$\frac{1}{4}$	1796$\frac{3}{4}$–1797
27.	'Booragojee Puntuloo' managed under Varadapa Saty renter of Tirupati	...	1	1797—1798
28.	'Colausaumee Saty'	...	2	1798—1800

Among the several items of improvements effected during the times of the several managers, the following entries will be found to be of interest:—

"In the presence of the God formerly Venkatrama Deechatooloo offered a Sankum (or shell) of 400 Pagodas weight; as it had become old, it was sent for, 100 Pagodas more of Gold was added by Sreeneevasa Deechatooloo, making altogether 500 Pagodas and presented it to the God in SS. 1722 (1800 A.D.).*

Ten bundles of Peacocks' feathers set in Gold gilt handles were presented.

A new chariot by Atmaraum Puntooloo and Naraharry Puntooloo, on the hill, on which was expended 4000 rupees. A procession performed to Venkatauchalaputty with the Goddesses Stree and Boo."

* *Note*:—This probably refers to the renewal of the Gold Emblem attached to one of the upper hands of the God in 1800 A. D., through the efforts of the Archaka, Srinivasa Dikshitulu.

NOTE V

Functions of Amuldars & Parapatyadars

Dr. Krishnaswami Aiyangar in his history of Tirupati Vol. II, (page 516) refers to a note in Anandaranga Pillai's Diary, under date 3rd October 1749, to the effect that one Srinivasachari who was an Amuldar of Tirupati did not pay the stipulated rent and fled from the place and another person by name Vasudevachar

was appointed in his place. Srinivasachari was again appointed Amuldar on the death of Anwaruddin in 1749 by Dumalli Krishnaji Pandit. Mr. Dowell, the editor of the Diary had commented on this as follows: "I suppose the runaway Amuldar the same as the man who managed the Tirupati revenues for the English later on." From this, Dr. Krishnaswami Aiyangar infers that "*the first Nabobs of Arcot settled the revenues of Tirupati by farming it out to persons specifically appointed, perhaps Vaishnavas.*" And that the English "*continued the old arrangement of appointing an Amuldar from among the brahmins, perhaps even Vaishnava Brahmins as we hear of two appointments one following the other of a Srinivasachari and a Vasudevachari by the Dewan of the Arcot Nabobs.*" Except as exercises in wishful thinking, these statements are worthless. Note VI-a gives an exhaustive list of Amuldars who managed the temple from 1700 to 1800 A.D. i.e. till the date of the assumption of direct management by the Company. The Amuldars were not officers appointed by the Nabobs but were merely managers appointed by the renters who directly took the lease of the revenue of the temple for one or more years from the Nabobs and subsequently from the Company. These Amuldars were not always brahmins nor were they invariably Vaishnavas as can be seen from the list. The name 'Vasudevachar, the successor of Srinivasachari is not found in the list. Perhaps he did not actually take up the post. Granting that he was his successor, Vasudevachar sounds more like a Madhva name than a Vaishnava name, even after the attempt to convert the ending "Char" into "Chari".

It may incidentally be noted here that Srinivasachari of Anandaranga Pillai's diary was the Amuldar of the temple from 1744 to 1762 and his second term was from 1763 to 1764. Srinivasachari, Amuldar under the Company, was a different person who held charge between 1790 and 1791. He is the Twenty-third in the list.

The duties of the Amuldar were somewhat like those of the present Peishkar and the Commissioner combined and he had no direct functions in the temple like the Parapatyadar. Therefore, the caste of the Amuldar was not important, so long as he was a Hindu. The office of the Parapatyadar stands on

a different footing. The term Parapatyadar itself means a fur tionary who regulates and supervises, the inner or the religio and the outer or secular affairs of the temple. He has to che whether the Archakas know and follow the prescribed rituals the temple at the prescribed hours and whether the chanters the Vedas and Prabandams recite correctly the selections appr priate to each occasion, in the prescribed manner; serious di putes arise if the order of precedence in these matters is alter even inadvertently. This is the religious part. He has control the crowds, regulate the darshanams, utsavams ar processions, collect the prescribed fees without causing offen to the pilgrims, duties requiring great tact and resourcefulnes The highest in the land, Maharajahs, Rajas, religious heads of th leading mutts visit the temple. They have to be received wit due courtesy and ceremony. Thus, he has not only to be a man sound learning but of good breeding, of sweet manners, of goc social position, and of thorough integrity. This is secular. Th is an office very difficult to discharge to the satisfaction of th public and has been invariably held by brahmins, as the natur of the duties can adequately be fulfilled only by a brahmin. Thi healthy convention has also now been set aside by the presen management and even this office is now converted into priz job, to be disposed of at the pleasure of the party in power, with out regard to the qualifications of the candidate to fill the post. reference to Note III will show that even so early as 1800 A.I it was fully realised that the income of the temple depende very much on the civility and attention shown to the pilgrim by those in charge of its management.

CHAPTER III

BRITISH PERIOD—SAWAL-E-JAWAB

According to the treaty concluded with Azim-ul-umara, the Nawab of Carnatic, in July 1801 A.D., the districts to the north of the Palar, to the boundary of Nellore, were constituted into a charge and Mr. Stratton was appointed the first Collector of "Western Palayams". The first concern of the Collector was Tirupati's annual festival which was then approaching. Tenders were called for from renters, as usual, by the Collector but the Board preferred keeping it under "Aumanee", (i.e.) direct management and an establishment at a cost of star pagodas 183–3–6/8 was sanctioned with the approval of the Government. As an inducement to the Amuldar to be honest, in addition to his monthly allowance of Rs. 100/- he was allowed to draw a commission of one percent on the collections of the pagoda, which, at that period amounted to star pagodas 45,000, while the entire revenue of the districts including the Tirupati temple worked out to an average of star pagodas 62,581. Thus the importance of the temple to the Company may be guessed. The Board's previous preference to farming out, as against "Aumanee" management, was explained to be due to "a persuasion that the exertions of a renter in pursuit of his private interests would secure to himself due compensation for his trouble and risks and to the Government a larger revenue than would otherwise have been obtained and sometimes for the sake of avoiding perplexity of accounts. Such was the activity of individuals, when the advantage was all

their own and such is the combination under an extensive Aumanee management to plunder the Circar of its dues." However, they reverted to the Aumanee system : "We remarked that it was a maximum with us that all revenue, liable from whatever cause to great fluctuation in amount, should be kept under Aumanee ; and applying this principle to the rent of the Tirupati District of which mostly the whole of the revenue arises from oblations to the Pagodas and varies between wide extremes, it derived additional strength from the consideration that it is not collected progressively but within a very short period of time. The security offered also we thought, bore no proportion to the expected receipts, and, if these materially failed, the renter would probably not be able to fulfil his engagements."

In view of this decision to take the temple under direct management, Mr. Stratton set about examining the origin, resources and revenues of the temples in Tirumalai and Tirupati and sent out a series of questions to be answered by the Stanikas of the temples, and organised their affairs on the basis of the answers. These questions and answers constitute what is locally known as Sawal-e-Jawab account of the temple. The answers are accepted by courts as evidence of ancient practice and tradition. This has resulted in the Government, since, withholding the records from public inspection. The few interested persons among the public who possess copies of these documents, treasure them up for production as trump cards in litigations for or against the temple. All the sections of this record have not so far been published and the least controversial portion, relating to the Sthalapurana, is all that could be secured for publishing at present, apart from

some fragments culled from Court Exhibits and parliamentary papers.

A translation of this Sthalapurana is given as Part IV of this sketch. Throughout the answers, the God is mentioned as, "Srivaru", a word difficult to translate but conveying at the same time, a notion of a human superior of an exalted rank. Even today in the Devastanam correspondence, the God is alluded to as "Srivaru" and the Goddess as "Padmavati Amma Garu". (In the present translation the word "Srivaru" has been translated as "The Lord"). This account is valuable, as it was not written to subserve any sectarian interest but to record faithfully and explain to the foreign rulers the time honoured traditions of the temple, with which the Government were connected for over half a century, before they actually assumed its direct management. The report of Mr. Stratton, based on these accounts, shows that the replies furnished were closely checked and verified. It is perhaps on this account, courts rely upon the authority of the Sawal-e-Jawab as an impartial record of the traditions of the temple. The account, therefore, naturally conveys the liberal spirit which has always pervaded this unique shrine and should prove a safer guide to its ideals and traditions than the publications now being brought out with unabashed sectarian bias.

CHAPTER IV

STRATTON'S REPORT AND LATER REFORMS

Mr. Stratton's report dated 31st January 1803, which has been printed as a selection from the district records of North Arcot and is also included in the parliamentary papers, gives an account of the Puranic origin of the temple and the hill and a detailed account of the then prevailing daily routine, the festivals and the various fees levied for the darshanams and the utsavams with explanations of them. His first claim to popularity was his plea for the abolition of certain fees and the Pilgrim tax which were felt by the pilgrims as obnoxious. As all the utsavams and a good many of the fees continue to be levied even now, the report is of absorbing interest.* It reveals the shrewd intelligence, the liberal tolerance, the genuine reverence for established institutions and the humane outlook which characterised the early civil servants of the Company, in marked contrast to the later generations of civilians under the Crown, to whom everything Indian was anathema. In describing the temple, Mr. Stratton observes: "The town of Tripatty is situated to the East of a range of hills running nearly in a north and southerly direction on the summit of which is built the famous Tripatty pagoda situated about seven miles from the village below. Three principal gopurams or portals are erected on the slant of the hill on the road leading to the Pagoda which Hindus only are allowed to visit, all other castes being restricted from passing the portal which is erected near the foot of the hill and about half a mile distant

* Please see note at the end of the chapter.

from the village of Tripatty. In such veneration is even the hill held that pilgrims resorting to the Pagoda prostrate themselves to the ground on first getting a sight of the range of Hills connected with it." He then refers to the story of the God's marriage debt to Kubera.

Then he describes the system of collection of the offerings "Kanukalu" through 'Ghoseyns'.

Taking up the question of the other sources of revenue, he continues: "The second source of income is derived from "Wurtana" or presents made to the idol for its own use, on which, whether they be jewels, horses, etc. etc. the donor is obliged first to pay the value of the article in question to the Circar as an indemnification for the loss."

After giving the details of fees, licences and farms, Mr. Stratton observes: "From the best of information I have been able to obtain there seems no doubt that the farms and licences derive their origin from the commencement of Muhammadan Government, during which, it being usual to farm the revenue of the Pagoda annually to the highest bidder and the renters being under no check, were allowed to exercise their ingenuity to make good their engagements with the Sirkar by every means and what was introduced by one renter was continued by his successors who devised fresh means to enhance the collections by further taxation on the pilgrims.

The capitation tax of 3 fanams levied on pilgrims ascending the hill owes its origin to the same source and as being most liable to abuse and vexation I was induced to recommend that it should be abolished. After further experience of how extremely obnoxious the tax is considered by the pilgrims I am again induced

to submit my former recommendation to your favourable notice."

He also recommended the abolition of farms and licences noted in the Report as items 5 to 9. The net annual revenue proposed to be foregone was calculated at $3674+341\frac{4}{16}$ pagodas.

Of the other temples, only the collections in Govindarajasvami temple were treated as the right of the circar, the annual average income of the temple at the end of F 1211 being star pagodas 877-13/7/8. One other point which is of special interest to us in this report is the statement of annual income of the temple from A D. 1790-91 to 1801-02.

Mr. Stratton left the district a few days after sending his report and no action on his proposals to remit certain of the fees and licences appears to have been taken. Mr. Cockburn succeeded him but his administration was not approved by the Government and he was soon transferred to the judicial department. The next Collector Mr. Graeme was in charge of the District from 25-12-1804 to 14-4-1818. He appears to have been a popular Collector and an able administrator. He was the originator of the Ryotwari system of land revenue though it had not been approved by the Board of Directors during his tenure of office. A suburb of Chittoor where the District Offices are now located is called Graemespet after him. We find him again putting up a powerful plea to the Government in March 1818 to abolish not only the fees and licences mentioned by Mr. Stratton but many others which are discussed in detail by him. His remarks against licensing *Mungulkutta* (item 8 in Stratton's list) now furnish amusing reading: "Every pilgrim not having a husband or a

father living (with the exception of those who take special vows) must undergo a shaving at the Kapilatheertham. The fee having been only 1½ fanam is now three fanams for each person owing to competition for this farm. The exclusive privilege is rented by a society of barbers. The Government rent gives a preference to a proportionate exaction on the part of the barbers and therefore should be immediately abolished; it is just that the pilgrims should be left to be shaved in the most expeditious and cheapest manner possible." We also learn from his report that, upto that date, only the hill shrine was under direct management of the Government and that the Govindarajasvami temple was rented to farmers as before. In connection with this temple he observes: "Pilgrims are prevented from paying their devotions till the demands of the renter are satisfied. They should be left to make voluntary offerings the same as at the large Tirupati shrine." "*From the immense number of people who are drawn from their proper occupations from distant countries, even the voluntary contributions at Tirupati cannot be considered an advantageous source of revenue; but it is more objectionable that these contributions should be at all compulsory.*" In his general remarks about the abolition of the licences and farms referred to already he observes: "*But long custom, though the taxes are not of any revered antiquity, had prompted all descriptions of pilgrims to submit to them. I have ascertained however that these taxes and privileges are considered to have derived their origin in a despotic period of Government and to possess no advantages and to favour no prejudices or superstition which could make them less vexatious and more acceptable in the eyes of the Hindus.*" Mr. Graeme was also responsible for encouraging, for the first time, the construction of topes, wells and chatrams on the edges

of high roads for the convenience of Indian travellers by obtaining the sanction of the Board to assign 2 cawnies of wet or 5 cawnies of punja land as Inam. Before quitting the district he was making out a case for increasing the grant to at least 5 cawnies of wet or 12 cawnies of punja land to further encourage such constructions. His humane outlook is further brought out in his remarks "*The sacrifice of revenue can hardly be considered very great or deserving of hesitation, when the comforts of the people are to be secured by it*" The reports of these first two collectors reveal not only the thoroughness and the liberal spirit which they brought to bear on their work but the extent to which the institutions of the temple had suffered under the Renters to whom the Nabobs of the Carnatic had left the entire management and the meek submission of the people to the exactions of the rapacious Renters, so long as they were allowed, at least, freedom to worship the God in their own way. No great stretch of imagination is necessary to see that the fiction, of the God having agreed to repay his marriage debt to Kubera, through the Governments ruling the locality, was invented by the Stanikas of the temple as a device to excite the cupidity of the Muhammadan rulers, so as to preserve the shrine from interference.

This loan transaction is vividly described in the Venkatachalamahatmyam; a copy of the bond executed by the God in favour of Kubera is furnished in the next page. There is nothing in it to show that the God undertook to repay the debt through the sovereigns ruling the country between the Palar and the Svarnamukhi rivers.

ीनिवासः उवाच
ंथं लेख्यं मयापत्र मृणादाने
वदाद्य मे

ीरुवाच ।
णग्राही श्रीनिवासो
नदायी धनेश्वरः
ारमकार्य निमित्तं तु
ल्याणार्थं कलौ युगे ॥
ाखे शुक्ल सप्तम्यां
ल्म्बेच्चैव वत्सरे ।
ष्काणां राममुद्राणां
क्षाणि च चतुर्दश
व्यं दत्तं धनेशन
द्धिग्रहण कारणात् ।
ृद्धि दित्तता मूलं
ीकृतं चक्रपाणिना ।
ाहवर्षमारभ्य
हस्त्रान्ते धनं पुनः ।
तव्यं यक्षराजाय
ीनिवासेन शार्ङ्गिणा ।
कः साक्षी चतुर्वक्त्रो
ृतीयस्तु त्रिलोचनः ।
तीयोऽश्वत्थराजस्तु
ित्ति सर्वमिदं दृढम् ॥
ये तत्क्रणपत्रं तु
ीनिवासोऽलिखत्स्वयम् ॥
ग्विष्योत्तरपुराणे एकादशोध्यायः)

Srinivasa asked,

Tell me how the bond of Debt should be drawn up by me.

Brahma said,

Srinivasa is the borrower, (borrowing of) Kubera the lender, for his personal object, viz marriage in the Yuga of Kali, in the month of Vaisakha, on the seventh day of the Sukla fortnight, in the year Vilambi.

The lord of wealth Kubera having given cash, viz, fourteen lakhs of Niṣkas bearing the Rama-mudra, for earning interest, and the Lord Chakrapani, (bearer of the disc) having agreed to pay the principal with interest, it is hereby agreed that Srinivāsa the Sarngī shall pay to the King of the Yakshas, at the end of thousand years commencing from the year of marriage.

The first witness, the four-faced Brahma, the second, the three-eyed Siva, and the third the Aśvatha, the King of trees, know all these presents in eternity. Thus the loan-bond was drawn up by Srinivasa in his own hand.

—*Bhaviṣyothara Purana.*

Chapter XI, Slokas 120-125. p. 352 of the Sri Venkatachala Mahatmiyam.

The chronic indebtedness of the Nabobs of the arnatic, which was mainly responsible for their down-ll, only proves how true was their insight into the

character of their rulers ; this forethought had saved the temple from worse forms of harassment. The voluntary testimony of these early officers of the Government, whose main business it was to secure as much revenue as could be obtained by assuming direct control over the temple and was not to fight for the rights of the people, goes to show that the taxes and fees had no sanction of "Revered antiquity" but were levied at the instance of despotic rulers and multiplied by the ingenuity of the unscrupulous Renters for fulfilling their engagements to a greedy circar. That the Renters did not much benefit by their contracts is revealed from the statistics of the earnings of the temple. At the commencement of the Company's direct assumption of the Government of the Carnatic, we find that a Renter Rooju Ramjoso (in Sept. 1802) submitted a tender to farm the revenues of the temple for Fasli 1212 for 65,000 star pagodas, exclusive of pagoda charges, though according to the Company's account the average net income for the preceding five Faslis was only 62831 star pagodas.

The hasty transfer of the temple to the Mahant in 1843 A.D. and the surrender of its revenues did not bring any tangible relief to the worshippers but only replaced one form of collecting agency by another and even today the spirit of the Renter, intent on getting as much out of the pilgrim as possible, still pervades the administration of the temples. The present day "Peoples' Government" with an amazing ignorance of the foundations of these revenues and without examining the necessity and justification for the continuance of the very many obnoxious fees and restrictions, supinely plans out ways and means to spend the funds not even conscious of the fact that these are

humiliating relics of a barbarous age when the country was under foreign rulers. A National Government worth the name should make it its first duty to remove these vestiges of our slavery and disgrace. After a lapse of 130 years how far are we from realising the ideal, set before the Government by Mr. Graeme, that even voluntary contributions from the "immense number of people who are drawn from distant countries cannot be considered an advantageous source of revenue; but it is more objectionable that these contributions should be at all compulsory."

NOTE.

Stratton's Report.

1. It being no less my duty than a subject of interesting investigation to define the sources of Revenue from the Tripatty pagoda, I have in consequence the honour to submit for your information the result of my enquiries on that head.

2. The town of Tripatty is situated to the eastward of a range of hills running nearly in a north and southerly direction on the summit of which is built the famous Tripatty pagoda situated about 7 miles from the village below. Three principal Gopurams or portals are erected on the slant of the hill on the road leading to the pagoda which Hindoos only are allowed to visit, all other castes being restricted from passing the portal which is erected near the foot of the hill and is about half a mile distant from the village of Tripatty. In such veneration is even the Hill held that pilgrims resorting to the pagoda prostrate themselves to the ground on first getting a sight of the range of Hills connected with it.

3. The idol of the pagoda is worshipped under 1000 different names but the three principal names are:—

1st.—Venkatramanaswamy implying the repeller of evil and ensurer of good.

2nd.—Srinivasaswamy implying the Habitation of Sri or the Indian Ceres.

3rd—Seshachalawausah implying the habitation of Sesha, the name of the Tripatty hill being Seshachalla and its etymology being, from Sesha or the King of serpents and Achella a mountain, in allusion to one of Vishnoo's incarnations in the form of the serpent, Sesha, which as is supposed was metamorphosed in the Tripatty Hill.

4. The idol there worshipped is an erect stone figure about 7 feet in height—with four arms and being a personification of Vishnoo, has its attributes in 2 of its hands—one of the right hands containing the Chuckram or Mace of war and one of the left hands containing the Shunkum or Holy-shell. The other right hand points to the earth in allusion to the sacred origin of the Hill on which the idol stands and the other left hand holds the lotus.

5. The pagoda in which this famous idol is placed must no doubt be of great antiquity, but not being allowed to visit it, the only information I have derived on this subject appears in some degree fabulous—the Brahmins of the pagoda asserting that its erection took place at the commencement of the Caliyug or the age of Contention and Baseness, of which 4903 years have elapsed. It being generally understood as written in the Bhavee Sheotarum Poorana that the worship of Vishnoo will cease at the completion of 5000 years from the commencement of the Caliyug, should that prophecy be fulfilled, we may in about a century more expect a material decrease in the Revenue of the Tripatty pagoda.

6. The founder of the pagoda is said to be Tondiman Chukrawartee the latter term answering to Rajah, Tondiman being the then sovereign of Tondamanad, now a district of the Calastry Zamindari, a village of the same name is situated about 12 miles to the westward of Tripatty, but while encamped there, I saw no traces of ancient grandeur, to warrant the supposition that it could ever have been the residence of any sovereign of consequence.

7. On enquiring into the cause of the oblations at the pagoda, I learnt from the Brahmins that the idol became enamoured with a princess named Pudmavatee, the daughter of the Akasha, the then Rajah of Narraineṽannum in the Bomrauze Zamindari; being desirous to espouse her, the idol borrowed the necessary amount for the marriage expenses of Cuvera or the Indian Plutus,

who desired the sum might be repaid to whoever might be the Sovereign of the countries lying between the Palar and Sornamookee rivers. This it is understood the idol is now repaying from the oblations of its votaries, the 9 days of Annual festival being considered and celebrated as the anniversary of its nuptials during which time about 2/3 of the annual collections are made.

8. From this account, however fabulous, we are to infer that the revenues of the pagoda have ever been considered the right of the sirkar though Brahmins, at the same time, assert that during the Hindoo Government the whole of the collections from the pagoda were disbursed in religious ceremonies and that only since the commencement of the Mahommadan Government in the Carnatic have those charges had a limit and the surplus net revenue been conveyed into the coffers of the state.

9. The first and principal source of Revenue at the Tripatty pagoda is from "Caunkulu" or oblations which are generally made from interested motives in performance of vows which may lead to the accomplishment of any desired object, such as the birth of a son, restoration to health from sickness, safe termination of a journey, gain of a victory etc, etc. These oblations are frequently sent by the inhabitants residing north of the Tombudra, by means of Ghoseyns, but the people from the rest of the peninsula either attend with their oblations in person or send them by means of relations or friends. The names of 21 Ghoseyns are registered at the pagoda who obtain flags from the idol which they carry to their different countries and which they expose for 2 or 3 months before the annual festival, when those who are desirous of accompanying them in the pilgrimage assemble in crowds round the banners of each leader and those who cannot attend in person, trust them with their oblations, which being considered the property of the idol is generally faithfully presented, though no doubt instances occur of the Ghoseyns being guilty of a breach of trust, but which it is scarcely possible to discover.

10. These ghoseyns, as leaders of their respective caravans, settle each march and the amount of customs which the pilgrims may be subject to through the countries they pass, having generally cowle from the different farmers of the customs who make favourable openings to them to pass through their range by which

they ensure so much more collections. The ghoseyns by relieving the pilgrims from this trouble, desire from them some advantage in presents as suits their pleasure and at the close of the festival, the ghoseyns further receive from the sirkar as complementary presents from the idol, the articles subjoined to the name of each as is registered at the pagoda and shown in statement No. 1.

11. The pilgrims are complemented also with presents from the idol on the following principle, any one presenting an oblation of 100 rupees receives a turban, from 100 to 500 a flowered silk cloth, from 500 to 1000 a shawl, the value of articles depending on the amount of the presents so made, from 100 to 1000 rupees and upwards. The statements from No. 2 to No. 4 inclusive contain particulars of the usual annual presents made to different zamindars, brahmins of the pagoda etc.

12. The 2nd source of revenue is derived from "Wurtuna" or "presents" made to the idol for its own use, on which whether they be jewels, horses, etc. the donor is obliged first to pay the value of the article in question to the sircar as an indemnification for the loss the sircar would otherwise incur, the articles so bestowed being then considered the property of the idol and being reserved among its paraphernalia for its own use.

13. The 3rd source of revenue, comes under the class termed "Arjeetum" or "Receipts" which is divided into first Abheeshakum or purifications, secondly Naivaidium or offerings and thirdly wahanams or processions, the collection on which I now proceed to explain in their different variations.

I. Abheeshakum or purification consists of

1st.—Poolkant or Laving and anointing the idol which is performed every Friday with milk, civet, musk, saffron, camphire etc. provided by the sirkar and any devotee desirous of being present at the ceremony used formerly to pay from 100 to 120 rupees but of late years the sum has been restricted to 50 rupees during the nine days of the Annual festival, the votaries paying anything they please at any other time of the year.

2nd.—Poolungee sevah or enrobing the idol with a flower garment is a ceremony performed every Thursday, and to be present

at which the pilgrims used formerly to pay 60 rupees but of late years they pay what they please;

3rd.—Thomaulah sevah or the daily ceremony of placing of Necklace of flowers on the idol, to be present at which it is necessary to pay 12 rupees;

4th.—Sahasranamarchana or the worship of the idol under its thousand names is a daily ceremony, to be present at which, it is necessary to pay 5 rupees;

5th.—Munsum sevah or the daily ceremony of putting the idol to rest, to be present at which it is necessary to pay 12 rupees.

II. Naivaidium or offerings consist of

1st.—Anna naivaidium or offerings of milk, sugar and rice called Purmaneeru, of Tamarinds, sweet oil and rice called Pooleevagarrum, of dholl, ghee and rice called Moodyanum, of butter-milk and rice called Daddeeodanum. If any one be desirous to present any of these offerings to the idol he pays 6 rupees for the privilege if he provide the articles, but if they be provided by the sirkar, he pays 10 rupees additional;

2nd.—Buschana naivaidium or offerings of sweet meats, to present which to the idol, it is necessary to pay from 20 to 28 rupees, the sircar providing and preparing the necessary ingredients;

3rd.—Maha naivaidium commonly called Teeropovadah is a large offering of from 1000 to 2000 pucka seers of rice which any one wishing to present to the idol pays from 100 to 120 pagodas the sirkar providing the rice;

4th.—Amuntrana vochavum commonly called Neetyapadeetrurram implies an offering of the several daily offerings which if any one be desirous to present at once to the idol, he pays 60 rupees as follows:

	Rs.
As a present to the sirkar ...	15
For the Tomalah sevah ceremony ...	12
,, Sahasranamarchana do. ...	5
,, Munsam Sevah ...	12
,, Annanaivaidium ...	16
	60

5th.—Ookaipitchadi means a plant named ookai prepared in a particular manner and the growth of which is said to be peculiar to the Tripatty hill, any one wishing to present an offering of which is subject to pay 4 rupees.

III. Wahanam or processions of the idol are 12 in number of different denominations, each having a reference to different parts of the Hindu mythology; the idol exhibited on these occasions, being a small gilt representation, formed of metal, of the stone idol within the pagoda which from its bulk is not moveable. For the undermentioned processions from 1 to 3 inclusive, the votary at whose solicitation the idol is brought out, pays 40 rupees and for each of the rest 20 rupees.

1st.—Kalpavroocha wahanam or procession of the idol placed under the representation of a gilt tree formed of wood.

2nd.—Andoluka wahanam or procession of the idol in a palanquin.

3rd.—Sesha wahanam or procession of the idol placed on a gilt representation of the serpent—Adi Sesha.

4th.—Sarva Boopaulah wahanam or procession of the idol under a gilt throne.

5th.—Sooriah Prabah wahanam or procession of the idol attended by a gilt representation of the sun.

6th.—Addala arrah or procession of the idol to a room surrounded with looking glasses and so placed as to reflect its image several times.

7th.—Andullum wahanam or procession of the idol in a kind of dooly palanquin.

8th.—Goruda wahanam or procession of the idol mounted on a gilt parrot.

9th.—Chandra prabah or procession of the idol attended by a gilt representation of the moon.

10th.—Hanumantha wahanam or procession of the idol mounted on a gilt figure in representation of Hanumant, the Indian Pan.

11th.—Simha wahanam or procession of the idol mounted on a gilt lion.

12th.—Bala Sesha wahanam or procession of the idol placed on a small gilt snake.

14. Having explained the sources of Revenue at the Tripatty pagoda as derived from "caunkee" or "oblations", wurtana or presents to the idol, Arjeethum or receipts from purifications, offerings and processions, it remains to bring under your notice the particulars of Farms and Licences on and below the hill which also form another material branch of Revenue and which are to be considered.

1st.—Under the name of Tavatora Puddee mera, etc. which is the farm of that part of the daily offering of victuals to the idol which fall to the sircar share and which the Renter disposes of to the pilgrims who set a high value on them as coming from the idol, the remainder of the daily offerings being distributed as Russoms among the several attendants of the pagoda; if the materials have been provided by the sircar but if wholly by pilgrims, the Tavotora renter then only receives the sircar share and the Votary is allowed to dispose of the remainder as he pleases.

2nd.—Waga buddee is the farm of selling sweet-meats which have been prepared by the Renter and previously presented as an offering to the idol.

3rd.—Moontur buguddee* includes the rent of the tobacco and ganja farm on the hill and in the town of Tripatty as also the privilege of selling images made of a particular wood which grows on the Tripatty hill called red sandal.

4th.—Swamy Pushkaranee is a tank near the pagoda so named where it is usual for the pilgrims after bathing to perform some particular religious rites in which the brahmins who farm this privilege are only allowed to officiate.

5th.—Tunk buddee is the licence of collecting on all shop keepers on the hill 6 annas tax on every pagoda worth of articles they sell which of course enhances the prices of every necessary of life and is severely felt by the pilgrims at all times of the year, but more particularly during the annual festival, when the crowd is immense.

6th.—Namaloo angadee is the exclusive privilege of selling a particular white chalk required for marking the forehead found on the Tripatty hill and of which pilgrims carry some home with

* Mandulangadi?

them in consequence of the particular sanctity of the place, not withstanding it is found elsewhere.

7th.—Hajam Goota is the farm of a tax on barbers and which is generally rented by barbers, who in virtue of this privilege levy on all pirgrims they shave above the Hill, 1½ fanams, the price being limited to that sum by the sirkar.

8th.—Caluanghuttum is also a tax on barbers for shaving pilgrims below the hill, the renter being restricted as before mentioned.

9th.—Kuplateertam is a tank so named to bathe in which all the pilgrims resort to after which they perform some religious cermonies by means of some brahmins who farm the privilege of officiating.

15. *From the best information I have been able to obtain, there seems no doubt that these farms and licences derive their origin from the commencement of Mohammadan Government during which it being usual to farm the revenue of the pagoda annually to the highest bidder and the renters being under no check, were allowed to exercise their ingenuity to make good their engagements with the sirkar by any means and what was introduced by one renter was continued by his successors who devised fresh means to enhance the collections by further taxations on the pilgrims.*

16. The capitation tax of 3 fanams levied on pilgrims ascending the Tripatty hill which I had the honour to bring under your notice on the 8th August last, owes its origin to the same source, and, as being most liable to abuse and vexation in the collection, I was induced to recommend should be abolished; after further experience how extremely obnoxious the tax in question is considered by the pilgrims, I am again induced to submit my former recommendation on this head to your favourable notice, since the distinction of exemption as before explained comprising all classes of Hindoos residing within 4 coss of Tirupatty, the loss of that distinction will scarcely be felt by any now exempt. The brahmins as being generally exempt are the only class of people who might feel any objection to the measure, but after conversing with several on this point both brahmins attached to the pagoda and strangers they all seem to be of one mind that the distinction of exemption from the tax in question is no way prized from not being of very ancient date.

17. Under these circumstances, I not only venture to recommend the abolition of the capitation tax as an indulgence to the religious prejudices of the natives, but also the abolition of the undermentioned farms and licences at Tripatty from the commencement of fasli 1213 about which after the explanation already afforded on each, no further comment seems necessary to point out how vexatious they must prove, and although the abolition may involve a temporary sacrifice of revenue, I am yet satisfied that the future collections from processions, offerings etc. will increase to compensate for any loss which may at first arise from so popular a measure.

Farms and Licences.	Average of 10 years Collections. (Star Pagodas)		
Swamy Pooshkaranee	82	8	
Tunk Buddee	1261	8	6/16
Namaloo Angadee	364	0	
Hajam goota	395	2	
Caleeanghuttum	104	12	13/16
Kuplateertum	208	11	5/16
Capitation tax	1257	9	6/16
	3674	3	14/16

18. There are several other pagodas at Tripatty both below and on the Hill which are held in different degrees of estimation where trifling donations are made by pilgrims which are enjoyed by the brahmins attached to them, but the collections at the Govinda Rauze pagoda below the Hill amounting on an average of 10 years collections to star pagodas 877-13 7/8 are considered the right of the sirkar.

19. I have herewith the honour to forward for your information a statement number 4 of the Enams enjoyed by brahmins and others attached to the Tirupatty pagodas as also a statement No. 6 of the whole collections from the Tirpatty purgunnah for a period of 10 years wherein each item of collection is distinguished and the Pagoda and District Sybbandy charges being deducted from the gross collections exhibits in the last column the net revenue of each fusli.

31st January 1803.
Chittoor,

(Sd.) GEO. STRATTON,
Collector.

Mr. Stratton furnishes with his report, a detailed statement of the 'Revenues of the Tripetty Purgunnah for a series of 10 years' (A. D. 1790—91 to 1801—2). The following details are extracted from this statement:—

Fuslis.	Oblations at the Tripetty Pagoda.	Total collections including Land Revenue Farms and Licenses, Capitation Tax, Sayer, oblations at the Pagoda etc.	Pagoda Charges.	District Sybbendy Charges.	Total Charges.	Net Revenue.
	Star Pagodas	Star Pagodas	Star Pagodas	Star Pagodas	Star Pagodas	Star Pagodas
Fusly 1202	60,637– 1– 6	75,195– 0– 6	13,216– 8–14	5,126– 4– 1	18,342–12–15	56,852– 3– 7
,, 1203	63,129– 3– 7	77,447– 4–15	11,927– 3–12	4,208– 2– 9	16,135– 6– 5	61,311–14–10
,, 1204	74,658– 8– 1	88,144–10– 0	9,728–15– 4	4,860– 6–10	14,589– 5–14	73,555– 4– 2
,, 1205	82,141– 0–11	97,830– 7–11	10,556– 3–11	5,404– 9– 0	15,960–12–11	81,869–11– 0
,, 1206	74,320– 9– 8	89,743– 5– 8	9,328–12–12	5,537– 4– 8	14,866– 1– 4	74,877– 4– 4
,, 1207	71,313– 7–10	85,905– 8–12	8,788– 7– 8	4,394– 2– 1	13.182– 9– 9	72,722–15– 3
,, 1208	61,320– 0– 8	75,833–15–13	11,372–12–12	5,170– 7– 3	16,543– 3–15	59,290–11–14
,, 1209	42,603– 7– 0	54,777– 2– 1	13,898–10– 0	6,296–12– 6	20,195– 6– 6	34,581–11–11
,, 1210	81,599– 7– 8	94,653– 2– 3	13,277– 9– 0	7,256– 2–13	20,533–11–13	74,119– 6– 6
,, 1211	66,757–15–12	78,550– 6–12	10,264– 8– 0	1,259–14–12	11,524– 6–12	67,026—0– 0
Average of 10 years	**67,848– 1– 5**	**81,808– 1–10**	**11,235–15– 9**	**4,951–6–10**	**16,187– 6– 3**	**65,620–11– 7**

CHAPTER V

RELINQUISHMENT OF GOVERNMENT CONTROL OF THE TEMPLE AND THE MANAGEMENT BY MAHANTS

Much valuable work was done by Government officers, in systematising the accounts, in regulating the establishment, in ascertaining and registering the innumerable inams granted to the temple and in taking inventories of its wealth in the shape of money, jewels and other property and in organising the administration in all its branches. An instance of embezzlement of the temple collections occurred in 1818 A.D. and consequently rigorous measures were adopted to check frauds. Mr. Bruce, the Commissioner who investigated into these cases, framed a set of rules which were adopted and issued as "Rules for management of affairs connected with the Devastanam on Tirumalai and conduct of servants attached to the establishment of the said Devastanam." The Parapatyagar now figures as a Joint Treasury Officer with the Tahsildar. The Jiyangar, who was hitherto concerned with assisting the Archaka in the ritual of the temple, is for the first time associated with the secular control. While the original purpose of the rules, for preventing embezzlement of the funds, does not appear to have been achieved, these rules laid the foundations for the later strife in the affairs of the temple.

The Government of Lord Auckland decided that "the Government Officers should be relieved from the management of the lands and control of funds

and affairs of all religious endowments whatsoever." Accordingly Collectors were asked in 1841 to submit proposals to hand over the temples to selected persons. This sudden change in the attitude of the rulers appears to have been due to the pressure from Christian Missionaries and their feeling of bitterness is brought out by Marshman, who was a missionary himself, in the following passages from his History of India (Vol. III).

"It (Lord Auckland's administration) was (however) rendered memorable in the history of India by the termination of the connection which the Government had maintained with the establishment of idolatry which was a scandal to the pious Christian and offensive to the religious Hindu. The views of the Court of Directors on the subject of religious observances after their functions had been limited to the Imperial duty of governing India in 1833 were communicated to the local authorities in an able despatch drawn up by Mr. Charles Grant, the President of the Board of Control. The natives of India were assured that the Government would never fail to protect them in the exercise of their privileges in all cases in which their religious rites and offices were not flagrantly opposed to rules of common humanity and decency. But interference of British functionaries in the interior management of native temples, in the customs, habits and religious proceedings of their priests and in the arrangement of their ceremonies was to cease. The Pilgrim tax was everywhere to be abolished. Fines and offerings were no longer considered public revenue and no servant of the Company was to be engaged in the collection, management or custody of them. In all matters relating to their temples, their worship, their

festivals, their religious practices and their ceremonial observances, the natives were to be left entirely to themselves. The orders were tardily obeyed in Bengal.

At Madras which from the obtuse feelings of its public functionaries in a long and unbroken succession had come to be designated 'The benighted Province', a morbid homage had been paid for half a century to native superstitions and it required an objurgatory missive from the Court of Directors, of which Mr. Butterworth Bayley was the Chairman, to suppress the attendance of troops and military bands at idolatrous festivals, the firing of salutes on the birthdays of the Gods and the decoration of the images and *the presentation of offerings on the part of the East India Company*"

The Government were not only managing the Tirupati temple but all temples in the Presidency. The total number of temples in North Arcot under the management of the Government were 188 including Tirupati Hill Pagoda. The average revenue for ten years preceding 1841 A.D., from all temples, except Tirupati, was Rs. 32647 and the Tasdik disbursement for them Rs. 27277. The average receipts from Tirupati temple in the same period were Rs. 109873 and the disbursements Rs. 32528. Proposals were sent up in respect of all temples, except Tirupati, by the middle of 1842 A. D. selecting most of the trustees from manigars and karnams and mirasdars of the villages concerned and given effect to by the end of the same year. The transfer of the Tirupati temple presented many complications and was consequently delayed. " It was opposed in the most decided manner by every member of its institution. They termed the proceedings as unjust and expressed their resolution to withstand it to the last."

The Collector (Mr. G. M. Ogilvie) complained "no persuasion, I found, or reasoning could effect a change in the resolution, they had taken. The management of the pagoda, they said, had been in the hands of the ruling power from ages back, the innovation contemplated was contrary to laws, established customs and if persisted in, religious worship in the temple would cease." His annoyance at the people not realising the change in the policy of the Government, of transferring power over institutions to them and in not helping him to set up a proper agency to take charge of the temple is expressed thus: "In stating this to be the feeling of the body politic of Tirupati my intention is to show that we can expect no co-operation from those immediately connected with this pagoda and in view of the difficulty of obtaining this, I can only propose a system of management which if entered upon even by compulsion, should uphold the pure administration of its affairs." "If the measure is to be carried through, nothing short of at once withdrawing Government interference, will tend to rouse into action the thinking properties of these sluggish and bigoted priests who keep themselves immured around this temple, hid from all sight and scarce to be traced out by enquiry. There they reside and spend their existence in inert carelessness, enjoying the produce of their lands and villages, secure in the administration of their worship, kept pure by a Government zealously recognising all their rights and careful of their religious feelings and prejudices. To such, the change must be anything but pleasing and to keep things as they are, consonant of course, to their natural notions of ease and security." His solution was "a managing committee composed of the jeeyangar, poojaries and priests who were seven

in number, a general committee of a sufficient number of men of unexceptionable character from the town, and the two Zamindars of Kalahasti and Karvetnagar to be elected patrons or honorary members of the managing committee." The Board of Revenue, however, could not agree to this scheme, among others, on the main ground "*that persons in the position of hereditary servants of the temple were obviously unfitted to be raised from the situation of its subordinate members to that of its absolute and almost uncontrolled masters.*" They accordingly called for fresh proposals from the next Collector who had taken charge meanwhile. From his report, dated 17th December 1842 A. D., it is found that the original objections against the relinquishment of Government control had disappeared and that the Mahant and the Head Jiyangar of the temple had applied to be appointed as Dharmakartas, the Jiyangar soliciting the office either alone or in conjunction with the Mahant and the Mahant desiring to be appointed alone, expressing aversion to be associated with the Jiyangar. The Rajah of Karvetnagar was willing to exercise supervision. The Collector invited the Maharajas of Mysore and Venkatagiri to take up the management but they were unwilling to accept the responsibility. The Head Jiyangar claimed the office of Dharmakarta on the ground that he was the pontificial successor of Ramanuja who had effected certain reformations in the pagoda and (2) that when the Commissioner, Mr. Bruce, drew up his rules for the management of the temple after his enquiry into the embezzlements of temple funds, which occurred in 1818, the Jiyangar was recognised as vested with large authority. The Collector carefully examined these claims and dismissed them stating that "*It was not mentioned anywhere that the*

Jiyangar is to have any authority beyond that of dismissing his own gumasta. His attendance is required on certain occasions specified, in common with others, for purposes of efficiency but beyond this there is nothing on which this claim can rest The question of fact being thus clear, a consideration of the first ground set forth is not called for, which whether traditional or otherwise, false or true, cannot affect the fact that the Head Jiyangar has not been Dharmakarta. The Jiyangar is however a person of considerable importance and though the specific grounds on which he rests his claims are to be rejected, there ought not to be any bar to his claims to be appointed Dharmakarta, if other considerations favour. On the present occasion however his nomination to the office of Dharmakarta is out of question. The Board had *decided on sufficient grounds that it is not expedient on the first change to raise a ministerial officer of the Pagoda to an office like the present (Dharmakarta) with large powers.* The Acharya Purushas or reciters of the Veda have urged their objections against the nomination of the Jiyangar. The wish of the Jiyangar to be associated with the Mahant is equally difficult as the Mahant will not agree to this arrangement." His choice of the Mahant for the office of the Dharmakarta was freely attacked by the Jiyangar before the Board and the Government and we find the next Collector Mr. I. Goldingham, in letter No. 22, dated 13—2—1843, justifying the choice of the Mahant made by his predecessor. "The Head Jiyangar considers the Mahant to be disqualified from his not being connected with the Pagoda, from the separation from the world enforced by his order and from being a stranger and opposed to the worship of the temple. He can urge nothing against the respectability of the Mahant. The

Zamindar of Karvetnagar is objected to on account of his insolvency. It is manifest that the main object of the Jiyangar is to obtain the appointment for himself. On the former discussion of the claims and views of the respective parties, the Jiyangar expressed a wish to be associated with the Mahant in management; contrary to the sentiments then entertained, he now sets forth want of qualification in the Mahant. It is urged by the Jiyangar that the Mahant is a stranger and opposed to the worship of the temple. The Mahant has been at Tirupati for about 30 years. He is a gowda Brahmin from Bengal, is a follower of Vishnu and is in no way concerned in the distinctions of Tengala and Vadagala. *The temple at Tirupati is common to all followers of Vishnu and Siva and does not recognise the Tengala and Vadagala distinctions.* The temple and its worship is held in peculiar veneration by the Mahant.

From his being in no way mixed up with the Tengala and Vadagala distinctions, a more fit selection on these grounds could not perhaps have been made than that of the Mahant; celibacy being the rule of his order, is no ground of disqualification. He mixes freely with others and, in person, made known to me his views in regard to the management; not so the Jiyangar; he could not personally appear before me. He cannot enter the kutchery, most places beyond the limits of the Pagoda are to him places of pollution."

In answer to the Board's query whether it was expedient that "so important a charge could be safely committed to one individual however respectable," the Collector further stated "If a competent individual is found to whom the management can be entrusted, the temple and the public will have the protection

of the Courts to look to, in addition to the fitness and respectability of the Manager. Thus, ample provision will be made against innovation or malversation. The Zamindars including Rajah of Mysore have declined to have any connection with the management of the temple and there are no persons at present, whose position in society would entitle them to a favourable consideration of their wishes, who have come forward to take a part in the management. The Mahant has positively declined to act with the Jiyangar. I have endeavoured to bring about an arrangement whereby the Mahant and the Jiyangar might jointly assume charge but without success." "Among other reasons it is urged by the Mahant that the Jiyangar does not hold his office on a hereditary tenure, that he is a servant of the pagoda like other officials, enjoying the monthly allowance of Rs. 47-4-0 and is removable at pleasure."

Summing up his arguments he states "First, the argument from general experience in favour of a sole manager, the impracticability of a joint management on the present occasion and the confusion that is likely to follow if such is attempted, point out the expediency of placing the management of the temple, on its being given up by the Government, in the hands of one individual. The future will provide for itself according to the circumstances of the time ; secondly, any better selection than the Mahant could not be made. In no way mixed up with the services of the temple, at the same time deeply interested in its worship and prosperity, not identified with the tenets of the temple on the Tengala and Vadagala question, looked up to and respected by the community in general and enjoying much personal

consideration, there is every guarantee that the rights of individuals will not be infringed and the interests of the temple will be fully promoted."

The Board and the Government were only too ready to approve this arrangement as their main object was to find somebody to whom they could transfer the charge of the temple and escape the suspicion of the Central Government, that they were unwilling to forego the rich income of the temple from the general revenues. Mahant Seva Doss took charge as Vicharana-karta of the Tirupati-Tirumalai Devastanams in September 1843 A.D., and the temples were under the control of the Mahants of the Hattiramji Mutt till the enactment of the Tirumalai Tirupati Devastanam Act IX of 1933 (amended by Act XII of 1939).

The entry of the Mahant into the administration starts an era of continuous strife, between him and the vested interests in the temple, resulting in an unending chain of civil and criminal cases. The narrowness of the out-look of both the parties resulted in not only dragging the name of this ancient shrine before courts but in colossal waste of the temple funds, as the final courts of appeal had invariably ordered the payment of costs of both parties from the temple funds. Charges of misappropriation and mis-application of the funds and breach of trust were the chief subjects of these litigations. The period of the first Mahant Seva Doss from 1843 to 26th Feb. 1864 (when he died) was the only spell during which the temple affairs were not taken before courts. While, the rules framed in 1822 by the Commissioner Mr. Bruce, which first gave status to the Jiyangar to be associated with the secular administration of the

temple and the suggestion in Mr. Goldingham's letter dated 13-2-1843 that the temple and the public will have the courts to look to, laid the foundations for future strife, the badly framed Religious Endowment Act XX of 1863 gave zest to litigations against the temple, the first series commencing from 1864 A.D. The appalling waste of temple funds in these contests can be judged from a sample entry in the temple accounts for F. 1283.

"As per orders on the above said petitions suits in Nos. 14 and 18 of 1867 were filed in the Chittoor Zillah Court against the Devastanam Vicharanakarta by (1) Appan Alagia Manavala Ramanuja Chinna Jeeyangarvaru and (2) Adiyapakam Chakravarthi Rangacharlu and Suit No. 17 of 1867 by Parakala Ramanuja Ekangi.

Expenditure for filing written statement and defending the suits in the said court— Rs. 52,258/6/2."

Dharma Doss who succeeded Seva Doss in 1864 A.D. appears to have been not only dishonest but thoroughly incompetent. A decree was passed against him directing him to make good to the temple a sum of Rs. 2,25,457/14/0 from his personal property though the Court should have known that as an ascetic the Mahant could not own any personal property. His successor Bhagavan Doss came to the office in 1880 A.D. and continued in it till 1890 A.D. He was prosecuted for removing gold coins and precious stones buried during the consecration, by former kings, under the Dvajastambam (Flagstaff), on the pretext of refixing it. He was found guilty of having misappropriated temple funds to the extent of 15 lakhs and was convicted and sentenced to undergo Rigorous Imprisonment for 3 years which was reduced on appeal to 18 months. His successor Ramkishore Doss was also prosecuted

for misappropriation of fifty thousand rupees and before the suit for his dismissal from the office could be disposed of, he was murdered. The loans granted by Bhagavan Doss on mortgages of the Zamindaries of Karvetnagar and Kalahasti were good investments, though these two ancient zamindaries themselves have been wiped off the district map as a consequence of these borrowings.

An illuminating commentary on the selection of Mahants for this office and the character of their management is furnished in the judgment in O.S. No. 14 of 1867 (pronounced in 1869). "The defendant (Mahant) Dharma Doss in this case, I consider to be in a false position altogether in his secular capacity of Manager of the Tirupati Pagodas which was not of his own selection but forced upon him as it were by the election of his predecessor who again was appointed under an act of legislature. In this same false position it is evident, his successor by election, an ascetic like himself, must also find himself on his succession. This I consider must continue to be the case until a radical reform is effected by some other act of legislature either by reverting to the system of Government management which while it lasted proved apparently most successful and efficient as well as economical or of putting the management of Pagodas on some better footing than under the control of and superintendence of ascetics, who are essentially men not versed in business or the ways of the world, for it cannot be expected that one ascetic can be a better secular manager than another." In the appeal preferred by Chinna Jiyangar to direct the removal of this Mahant, the Madras High Court declined to order his removal

for the following interesting reasons: "That he committed fraud, there is no doubt; that in the matter of the loan to the Zamindars that fraud is very gross; there can be little doubt that his predecessors defrauded before him and his successors would commit fraud also, there is little doubt. It is not a question of replacing a dishonest man by an honest man but of replacing a dishonest man of substantial means by one certainly as dishonest, but more hungry". How true this intuition was, will be seen from the reckless character of the successor, Bhagavan Doss. Again Suits No. 31 of 1898 and 10 of 1899 were filed before the District Judge, North Arcot, against Ramakishore Doss that he received bribes to the extent of fifty thousand rupees for granting leases of the landed properties of the temple or showing favour to the contractors. Suit No. 10 of 1899 was for his removal from trusteeship and Suit No. 31 of 1898 was for the settlement of a Scheme for the management of the temple. During the pendency of the suit, Ramakishore Doss was murdered; so the suit for his removal became infructuous but the other suit for the settlement of a Scheme was decided and the Decree passed by the Judge was the subject of Appeals No. 236 of 1901 and 38 of 1902 before the High Court, Madras. This was disposed of in Prayag Dossji Varu, Mahant, *versus*, Tirumala Srirangacharlu (28 Madras pp. 319 to 328)* sanctioning a revised Scheme but this was again contested before the Privy Council which framed a new Scheme. The following extract from the judgment furnishes not only the Scheme but a summary of the character of the administration of the Mahants upto 1907 :—

* It will be interesting to notice here that *Vênkatachala Itihasamala* figures for the first time as an Exhibit in this suit.

"1907, February 3rd—Lord Macnaghten—

"The state of things which made a scheme necessary and the earlier history of the Institution are summed up in the following passage taken from the judgment of the High Court:—

'The temple of Sri Venkatesvara in Tirumalai or Tirupati in the North Arcot District is a very ancient Hindu temple to which worshippers resort from all parts of India and is in receipt of an annual income of between two and three lakhs of rupees. Prior to the establishment of the British Government, the management of the institution was directly under the ruler of the country for the time being. After the advent of the British, the management passed into the hands of the East India Company, and subsequent to the enactment of Regulation VII of 1817 of Madras Code, it was carried on under the control of the Board of Revenue through the Collector of the District. With reference to a despatch of the year 1841 from the Court of Directors ordering the immediate withdrawal from all interference on the part of the officers of Government with native temples and places of religious resort, the management of the temple was in 1843 made over to Seva Doss, the head of a Mutt called Hathiramji Mutt situated in the town of Tirupati at the base of the hill on which the important shrine stands. In the 'Sannad' by which this transfer of management was effected, it was provided that Seva Doss' successors in the Mutt should be his successors as Vicharanakartha or Manager of the temple. Seva Doss having died in 1864, Darma Doss succeeded him and on Darma Doss' death in 1880, Bagavan Doss became Manager and continued so till 1890. From 1890 to 1894 Mahbir Doss was Manager. And from 1895 to 1900 Ramakishore Doss, the defendant in the two suits Nos. 31 of 1893 and 10 of 1899 on the file of the North Arcot District Court held the management; and on his death, pending the litigation, the present Mahant, as the head of the Mutt is styled, succeeded to the office of the Manager and was brought on the record as legal representative of Ramkishore.

'Now when in 1843 the management was transferred to Seva Doss, it was no doubt expected that the management by the

Mahant would prove satisfactory but the history of what took place subsequent to Seva Doss' death, is, to put it shortly, a record of waste and embezzlement.'

In these circumtances the District Court settled a Scheme. The Scheme was amended by the High Court on appeal. As amended it was still not satisfactory to the parties most concerned and the Mahant appealed to his Majesty in Council. The principal objections urged on the appeal were (1) that the effect of the Scheme would be to lower the position of the Mahant, and weaken his authority, and (2) that, although there was no surplus in hand nor any immediate prospect of a surplus, the Scheme provided for the application of surplus revenue, devoting it to objects admirable, perhaps in themselves, but somewhat foreign to the purposes of the Institution. It was pointed out that these provisions were unnecessary at present and likely to prove embarrassing in the future.

The appeal to this Board was heard *Ex-parte*. But their Lordships had the benefit of Sir Robert Finlay's official experience in similar matters in this country. After a full discussion in Court their Lordships, with the assistance of the learned Counsel engaged, have settled the following Scheme which will they think meet the exigencies of the case without impairing the authority of the Mahant as the duly constituted Manager of the Institution.

Scheme

1. A Treasurer to be appointed by the District Court at a salary.

2. All funds to be in the custody of the Treasurer. Rules to be framed by the District Court to ensure the proper receipt and custody of all offerings, income and funds and investment of any surplus and to prevent misappropriation and to ensure the proper management of any estates or other properties or investments.

3. The Vicharanakartha, two months prior to the commencement of every year, to prepare and file in the District Court a budget of the expenses to be incurred in the ensuing year.

4. The Treasurer to put the Vicharanakartha in funds for all disbursements according to the budget and for any further expenditure deemed necessary by the Vicharanakartha but unless by leave of the District Court such further expenditure not to exceed Rs. 5,000 during any one year.

5. The Vicharanakartha within three months after the end of each year, to cause to be prepared and filed in the District Court a detailed account of receipts and disbursements of the year. The accounts to be audited by an auditor to be appointed by the District Court. The remuneration of the auditor to be fixed by the District Court and paid from the Devastanam funds An abstract of the said accounts prepared and certified by the auditor to be published in such manner as the District Court shall direct.

6. All surplus income to be invested for the benefit of the temple.

7. No immoveable property of the temple including lands held on mortgage, lease or any other right to be given on lease for more than five years mortgaged or sold by Vicharanakartha, except with the sanction of the District Court.

8. No jewels or other property of value to be sold without the sanction of the District Court.

9. Subject to this Scheme the Vicharanakartha's position to remain as before.

10. Liberty for the Vicharanakartha and any person interested to apply to the District Court with reference to the carrying out of the directions of this Scheme.

11. Liberty for the Vicharanakartha and any person interested from time to time to apply to the High Court for any modification of this Scheme that may appear to be necessary or convenient.

* * * *

The costs of all parties of this suit, including the charges and expenses of the Vicharanakartha properly incurred, the costs of the appeal to the High Court and the costs of the appeal to His Majesty in Council to be submitted to the District Court and as approved by the Court to be paid and retained out of the funds of the Devastanam."

The importance of the Privy Council decision i that it did not approve even the very modest Scheme c the High Court which permitted the diversion of th surplus funds to the objects specified below:

"Proceeding on the cy-press principle the following are th objects on which both sides are agreed that the surplus fund may be appropriately spent:—

1. The establishment of a college in Lower Tirupati for th promotion among Hindus of a knowledge of the Hindu religio and shastras such college to be styled "The Sri Venkatesvar Vidyasala" with a library attached and with suitable building inclusive of residential quarters for the teaching staff as well a hostel accommodation for students who may be permitted t remain in the premises of the college, the annual expenditure i the up-keep of the college not exceeding, until further orders the sum of twenty-four thousand rupees.

2. The distribution of prizes annually to persons possessing proficiency in the one or other of the various Hindu shastras t an extent, until further orders, not exceeding rupees twelve thousand. Rules for the management of the college and the award of prizes shall be made by the trustees from time to time subject to the approval of the District Court.

3. The foundation and maintenance of a hospital on the hill for the relief of the numerous pilgrims and worshippers visiting the place.

4. The construction and maintenance of a choultry or rest-house in the same place for the use and accommodation of all classes of pilgrims visiting the shrine.

5. The introduction of good water supply on the hill.

6. The improvement of the road communications to the shrine."

* * *

After the above summary of the administration of the Mahants, by the Privy Council, it is unnecessary to swell this sketch with the details of the careers of the

successive Mahants. The last Mahant Sri Prayag Dossji varu was the most enlightened of them and though he did not escape the usual prosecutions for corruption, he carried out several useful measures of permanent benefit to the temple. He improved the Sopanamargas (flight of steps) to the temple, repaired Gopuras, constructed choultries and tanks for the use of pilgrims and improved the sanitation, water supply, lighting and the roadways leading to the temple. He also gilded the Vimanam of the central shrine. We owe the valuable volumes of the Devastanam inscriptions to his liberal spirit. The main ground on which the Mahants were chosen to the office was their freedom from sectarian bias. It must be stated to their credit that, in spite of all their shortcomings, they strictly upheld the traditions of the temple as an institution common to all denominations of Hindus whether Vaishnava or Saiva. The judgments show that the costs were debited to the temple funds and will serve as illuminating commentaries on the benefits conferred on the temple, by courts and the local vested interests. The costs to the temple were invariably several times more than the sums misappropriated and these litigations have only further impoverished the temple.

CHAPTER VI

THE PRESENT SCHEME OF MANAGEMENT

The Tirumalai-Tirupati Devastanam Act of 1933 has no doubt placed the actual management of the temple under Commissioners, who are certainly better fitted for the task than the Mahants, but the Act itself was limited in its scope, as the framers were obsessed more with the idea of using the funds for secular objects than with the investigation of the origin of these revenues and the purposes for which the original donors of the funds and lands intended them to be used. It has been shown at great length, that the fees for the several darshanams and utsavams etc., in the temple were designed as temporary expedients to secure funds for payment to the Muhammadan rulers as an inducement to them to allow the pilgrims freedom from annoyance. The investigation of the various money gifts and land assignments coming to us through successive centuries from 830 A.D., with a special abjuration to preserve the specific services for which they had been made and the enforcement of the Trust is a sacred and moral duty, we owe to our illustrious ancestors. If we cannot add to them, let us at least not consider them as resources available for objects other than those intended by the donors. It is no less a legal obligation. The voices of kings, ministers and pious devotees reach out to us through their inscriptions, to protect their charities while the Sun and Moon endure. Several donations take the form of offerings of food to the God so that the large crowds of pilgrims, who have no facilities locally, may get free food. These services have now become nomi

nal and food is freely sold on behalf of the God. The selling of food for money is considered a debased form of earning a living even for common men, according to Hindu ethics and the shameful practice of selling food in the name of and in the immediate presence of the God should be stopped.

It will be seen from part I-Chapter III, that the daily routine of the temple is so arranged that except for a period of less than one hour during the course of the day, no one can enter the sanctum without some payment. On some days, even by paying the prescribed fees, darshanam cannot be had, if some rich devotee buys up this particular privilege by crediting a sum over and above the average income of the darshanam and reserves to his party the exclusive privilege of wit nessing it and the others are made to wait indefinitely and very often miss the darshanam for which they had paid fees. Pilgrims visiting the shrine go there to fulfil vows previously taken and they deposit the money in the Hundi if they get darshanam immediately on going to the temple, but, if they are kept back on the ground of fees, they split up their offerings so that they may get admission to the various darshanams and put the balance, if any, in the Hundi. The restrictions by way of fees only waste the time of the temple staff and the pilgrims and do not actually help to increase the revenue of the temple. The fees for the various darshanams may be abolished not only on ethical grounds but also on account of their uselessness as sources of revenue to the temple. The fees now levied for the special Sevas like Brahmotsavam, etc. may continue but even here it should be seen whether the rates, fixed before 1800 A.D., require any modification. Nowhere in South India is

even the sight of the God denied for most part of the day on one pretext or the other, as it is done here and pilgrims who rouse themselves to a high pitch of religious fervor when starting on the pilgrimage, return cursing the place and the people. It is certainly possible to end this evil. With the introduction of the bus service there is now a tendency among pilgrims to finish their vows and return quickly and this attitude should be taken advantage of to reduce needless congregation of crowds round the temple, which render the place insanitary. It has been shown that in earlier times, even the ascent of the hill was restricted and people were not allowed to stay on the hill. Owing to the renting system, a new village has sprung up round the temple and most of the private shops and residences are encroachments which have been allowed without check then and there. The Government, before thinking of spending the surplus income of the temple on other objects, should acquire all private buildings and shops and dismantle them by paying compensation wherever necessary by making special provisions in the new act The holy precincts of the temple should be cleared of all shops and residential houses and they should not be allowed to grow up within radius of half a mile of the temple. Such regulations are in force near sanatoriums and much greater is the need in respect of this sacred shrine which in all seasons attracts huge crowds of pilgrims. No permanent residence should be allowed, even for temple servants, within the four streets around the temple. The growth of miscellaneous population on the hill has rendered the temple surroundings insanitary and uncongenial, a state of affairs not in consonance either with the past tradition or with the sanctity of this ancient shrine. These are some of the

directions in which urgent reform is necessary and for which the pilgrims have waited unduly long. No wonder that people are suspicious of Government's intentions, when they attempt legislation without examining any question bearing on the preservation of its ancient institutions or the convenience of the pilgrims. The Devastanam Act is also defective in several other respects. The most objectionable feature of it, which has given room to legitimate complaint is that the whole management is left in the hands of a Committee of seven members and a paid Commissioner, who are appointed at the pleasure of the Government. No specific qualifications such as reputation for outstanding piety and character or special learning in the tenets of the institution which they are called upon to supervise have so far been the guiding factors in the nominations. Naturally, as in the case of all nominated offices, there is great distrust in the public mind that these offices are reserved as prizes for the partisans of the Government in power and that the administration of these great religious institutions is made to subserve party politics, placating by the way, local vested interests, which have fattened on the evils of the existing system, to the detriment of the larger interests of the temple and the convenience of pilgrims and have stood in the way of change. Various public bodies representing the several sects among the Hindus have no voice in the selection of the members of the Committee nor are they even consulted in the matter. The British officers before transferring the temple were scrupulous about maintaining the ancient traditions of the shrine as a common institution of worship without the distinction of Vishnu and Siva and excluded the Jiyangar mainly on this ground and brought in a

stranger, the Mahant, though aware of his limitations These precautions are now set at naught and the fundamental basis is now sought to be undermined by insidious propaganda on behalf of a few fanatical elements now dominating the management. A committee composed of party politicians neither realises nor cares to understand the significance of these interested moves so long as it can secure immediate local support for creating a few new posts for their henchmen. Then again, the Advisory Council constituted under Section 28 of the Act consists of only "Representatives of the Jiyangars, the Archakas, the Acharyapurushas and other Mirasidars of the Devastanam for the purpose of advising the Committee in the administration of the religious affairs of the temple". There is a second advisory council consisting of representatives of ryots of the Devastanam for the purpose of advising the committee on the management of the estates of these Devastanams. The second council is nominal as the estates are governed by the Estates Land Act and rents are regulated and collected under the terms of the Act. The first Advisory Council consisting of service holders in the temple such as Jiyangars, Archakas and Acharyapurushas, and Mirasidars, practically rules the Committee, whose composition has already been noticed. It has been shown, (in Part III, Chapter VI), that the Board of Revenue, which was composed of experienced European administrative officers, had previously rejected the proposal to form a managing board of this kind on the ground "that persons in the position of hereditary servants of the temple were obviously unfitted to be raised from the situation of its subordinate members to that of its absolute and uncontrolled masters."

This sound doctrine was ignored in the new Act with the result that the temple which was declared to be equally common to all sects of Hindus, without distinction of Siva and Vishnu or Tengalai and Vadagalai, is being rapidly transformed into a sectarian institution. The distrust of the Committee's capacity to rise above sect was proved to be justified as one of the first acts of the new Committee was to cut off supplies to Kapilesvarasvami temple, which was the earliest temple to come into existence in Tirupati. This of course gave room for agitation from members of all communities and a volume of literature has sprung up around this question, among which is Siva Thathva Prakasika, by the late Mr. C. Krishnaswamy Aiyar, a Pleader, who had settled in Tirupati over 70 years ago. The appendix to this book contains a copy of the petition dated 7—8—1935 to the Hindu Religious Endowment Board, by the local community, including Vaishnavas, against the anti-Saivite spirit displayed by the members of the Committee. The book itself is the result of patient research and proves the non-sectarian character of the shrine and the spirit of harmony that had prevailed between the sects of Siva and Vishnu till the coming into force of the new Act.* The latest act of the Committee

*"It is a well known fact that the Idol Sree Venkatesvara is one of Three Moorthees, consisting not only of the symbols of Mahesvara and of Mahavishnu as stated above but also of Simha Lalatam in the middle and of Sri Chakram on the crown, which are the peculiar symbols of Iswara Sakti otherwise known as "Raja Rajeswari". "The Idol is universally worshipped by Thrimathasthas, without any prejudice whatsoever." "Though the said Symbols (Sankhu and Chakram) were added to the Idol, it has not on the whole changed the aspect of it and the Pilgrim population never felt dissatisfied on that account. Pil-

was the erection of the images of Garuda on the Ardhamantapa of the temple of Sri Venkatesvara and the Sub-shrine of Ramanuja. This interference with the early architectural features of the temple, which has apparently not been noticed by the Archaeological

grims from all parts of the land, are even now pouring into the temple as usual. Some look upon the Idol as Mahavishnu, some as Mahesvara, some as Sakti and some others as Sri Subrahmanya as well, as will appear from the Madras Edition of "Tirupughal" (the songs of Tamil Saints about the Idol on the Hill) (Vol. II pages 185 to 188). In fact all the devotees of the aforesaid deities worship the said Idol without making any kind of distinction." "In this connection it may not be out of place to mention that in the famous Calcutta-case wherein Maha Mahopadhyaya Anantakrishna Sastriar filed a suit against the Committee for the remuneration due to him for publishing a Hindi Edition of Venkatachala Mahatmyam under the orders of the previous Mahant who was the sole Trustee of the said Devasthanams, the main attack seems to have been on this sectarian basis. I understand that the Devasthanam has lost about 30 thousand rupees in that vain contest, as the suit was at last decided in the Plaintiff's favour. Moreover, establishment has increased thousandfold, compared with the establishment of the Government. All that is palatable to the Committee, whereas, daily allowance to the temple of Sri Kapilesvara, for Nivedanam to the Deities, is an eyesore to them." "I was observing such prejudice towards Mahesvara on the part of some of the members alone on the committee." "As that sort of spirit on the part of the said committee has reached its zenith, as has been stated above, I am constrained to point out numerous authorities from Sruthees, Smruthees and Puranas, regarding the equal position of the three Saguna Brahmans, not only to the general public, but particularly to the said Devesthanam Committee also, who not only entertain feelings of hatred towards Mahesvara, but also exhibit such feelings openly in their connection with a Siva temple, in a public capacity, and especially as Trustees of the said temple and also to convince all of them aforesaid of the established fact about the equality of the three Saguna Forms of One Supreme-Being."

Department, proclaims the ascendency of sectarianism in the administration of the temple. That the general community of Sri Vaishnavas in the district do not approve of the acts of the Committee is seen from the fact that the protest dated 7—8—1935 was signed by some leading members of that community like the late Mr. C. Doraiswamy Iyengar, M. L. A. and Mr. L. C. S. Varadachariar. The foregoing analyses of the public attitude to the measure will be sufficient to show that the Tirumalai Tirupati Devastanam Act of 1933 (as amended subsequently) has not only failed in its object to safeguard the interests of the worshippers but has unconsciously added new elements to stimulate strife.

The present Government have published some proposals to amend the Act but even these are not based on a knowledge of the traditions of the temple or a desire to secure the convenience of the pilgrims. A Government which proclaims that it is secular, has no call to interfere with the Hindu religious institutions, on its own initiative. As the temple is common to all sects of Hindus, the correct thing for the Government to do is to appoint a committee of representatives of all sects of Hindus contributing to its funds from the various parts of the country, to examine the traditions and needs of the temple and give effect to them in the form of a new Act. Mere tinkering with present Act and merging the Devastanam Act with the Religious Endowments Act will hardly meet the situation. Even now, the Government seem to be mainly interested in introducing a few provisions in the existing Act to get over the principle of cypress, so that they may utilise the surplus funds to institutions catering to the needs of non-Hindus also and their interest seems to end there. The lines on which reforms are necessary have been indicated in the

sketch and while on the task, it is for the Government to ensure that the Act provides for all aspects of the temple administration. They cannot attempt this without a special committee of religious heads, who should be asked to frame a constitution, after examining all the records relating to the past history of the temple with the Government and now excluded from public inspection. This they can do easily, if they realise that the present income of the temple is wrung out of pilgrims by exactions not sanctioned by early customs and that it is tainted money, savouring of our slavery and not honest revenue available for public use. It is no use piously proclaiming that the mission of India is to spiritualise the world, while laying unholy hands on the funds of temples nearer home and diverting them to secular purposes. The Madras High Court, in its proposed scheme had indicated the objects on which the surplus funds of the temple could be spent but even this was considered objectionable by the Privy Council. As anyhow the present Government is out to reform everything, it may at least proceed on the lines suggested by the High Court, which has carefully gone into the past institutions of the temple. Whatever may be the shape of the new Act, it must be provided that except in respect of matters directly relating to the properties of the temple, in which the temple itself is the plaintiff, no litigation can be charged to the funds of the temple : the same rules as apply to Government servants whose acts are questioned in courts may apply to Devastanam servants also. The Devastanam Budget and the Audit reports should be published in all important dailies and copies of them made available to the public at a nominal price or free. In conformity with their professions, it is up to the Government to

call upon the heads of all religious institutions in the country to start seminaries on the hills and train batches of teachers in the various branches of the Hindu religion, who could go out and preach its message of unity, harmony and love.

When forces of evil in the shape of communalism and racialism are spreading in the world and western thinkers, dismayed at the culmination of their civilization in the Atom Bomb, are endeavouring to start a campaign of Moral Rearmament, it is up to us to revitalise our ancient institutions and make them once more the dominant forces for the spread of the message of the Upanishads, of the divine heritage of man and the oneness of God and man. There is enough in the realm of religion alone on which the funds of religious institutions can be spent; that our present rulers may be swayed by the lofty ideals of their ancient preceptors and blessed with a wider vision is our prayer to

SRI VENKATESVARA.

PART IV

SAWAL-E-JAWAB

(Reprinted from the author's contribution to the Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society, Bangalore. —By kind permission.)

Question 1. How many Yugas (ages) have passed since Sri Venkatesvara took up his abode on these hills?

Answer. Sri Venkatesvara first manifested Himself before Brahma and other Gods, Rishis and Kings in the twenty-eighth Yuga before the present Kaliyuga. (Chapter 43 Vamana Purana.)

Question 2. After appearing on Tirumalai what induced Him to continue to stay here till now and give *darsan* to people?

Answer. Knowing that people in Kaliyuga will be of feeble faith and wanting in capacity to engage themselves in severe austerities, Brahma entreated the Lord to continue his stay here and give them His *darsan*, which is sufficient to redeem them. To show His great mercy to mankind the Lord has been staying here to save and bless. (Chapter 2 of Brahmandapurana and Chapter 1 of Brahmavaivartapurana.)

Question 3. Which is the mountain going by the name of Tirumalai-Tirupati and Seshachalam?

Answer In the middle of the earth, which is (*Panchasatkoti*) five hundred crores of miles in extent, there is a great mountain called the Mahameru which is golden in colour. One of the peaks of this king of mountains is known as Seshachalam, also as the son of Meru. (Chapter 26 of Vamana Purana.)

Question 4. When and by whom was Seshachalam brought here from Mahameru?

Answer. Many years ago in Sri Vaikunta in the presence of the Lord a dispute arose between Vayu and the thousand-headed Adisesha as to who was more powerful. In the contest, Adisesha opened his thousand hoods and grasped tightly one of the peaks of Mount Meru. In his attempt to blow Adisesha away together with the peak, Vayu raised a terrible tempest which shook the heavens. Indra and the other Devas prayed to Adisesha (Ananta) who is the embodiment of *satvaguna,* to concede victory to the rude Vayu by releasing his hold of one of his hoods on the peak. On his doing so, a portion of the peak was blown away and falling here became Seshachalam.

Question 5. What is the extent of this range, north to south and east to west?

Answer. According to Brahmandapurana, this range extends *five hundred yojanas* north to south and *fifty yojanas* east to west.

Question 6. Why is this mountain range called Seshachalam?

Answer. The Lord intending to reside here sent Adisesha in advance and he was asked to remain here in the form of a mountain range. As Adisesha himself is here in the form of a mountain, the range is called Seshachalam. (Chapter 3 of Brahmandapurana.)

Question 7. How did it acquire the name of Venkatachalam?

Answer. Once a Brahmin guilty of incest with a Chandala woman consulted Rishi Vasishta as to the best mode of getting rid of the sin. On his advice he came here on a pilgrimage. No sooner than he reached the top of the hill, his body burst into flame like a cracker. Soon he was found standing uninjured but with a brighter and more handsome form than before. Only his sins had been consumed away in flames. The Devas and Rishis who witnessed this miracle, named the hill Venkatadri or the extinguisher of sins. This is stated in Chapter 1 of the Varahapurana.

Question 8. What are the various names applied to this range and under what circumstances was each of them acquired?

Answer. Several names are given to this range in Brahmapurana and in chapters 4 and 5 of Brahmandapurana. Some among them are (1) Seshachalam, (2) Vrishadri, (3) Vrisabadri, (4) Venkatachalam, (5) Narayanadri, (6) Garudadri, (7) Anjanadri and (8) Svarnadri.

Narayanadri. An old Brahmin, named Narayana, who was disgusted with life on account of his abject poverty and old age, deciding to end his life, got up the hill intending to throw himself down from its summit, but as soon as he had reached the top, the Lord appeared before him and blessed him with youth and unlimited wealth. On his prayer that the hill should be known thereafter by his name, the Lord granted the boon. (Chapter 3 of Brahmandapurana.)

Vrishabadri. When Lord Venkatesvara killed Vrishabasura, He granted his wish that the hill should be called after his name. Hence it is known as Vrishabadri. (Chapter 4 of Brahmandapurana.)

Vrishadri. As there are many sacred *thirthas* on this range it is called Vrishadri.

Garudadri. As Garuda brought this hill from Sri Vaikunta for the sport of the Lord it is called Garudadri.

Narasimhadri. As there is the shrine of Narasimha in the centre of this range it is known as Narasimhadri.

Anjanadri. As Anjana Devi begot Anjaneya, the great general of Sri Rama, by performing penance here, it is called Anjanadri.

(Note: Explanation for Svarnadri not furnished. This peak is a part of the Golden Mountain—Mount Meru.)

Question 9. What sacred *thirthas* are there on this range and how have they acquired their names?

Answer. It is said in the puranas that there are three and a half crores of *thirthas* in various parts of these hills. The chief among them are: (1) Kumaradhara, (2) Tumburukona, (3) Kataha *thirtha,* (4) Akasa Ganga, (5) Papavinasam, (6) Sesha *thirtha,* (7) Chakra *thirtha,* (8) Pandava *thirtha,* (9) Svami Pushkarini, (10) Gogarbham, (11) Bharadvaja *thirtha,* (12) Vaikunta *thirtha,* (13) Asti *thirtha,* (14) Sanakadi *thirtha,* (15) Yuddanirasta Rasayana *thirtha,* (16) Brahma *thirtha,* (17) Visvakshena *thirtha,* (18) Indra *thirtha,* (19) Kapiladhara *thirtha,* (20) Vajra *thirtha,* (21) Shankachakradi pancha *thirtha,* (22) Agneya *thirtha,* (23) Vamana *thirtha* and (24) Brahma-Kshatriya-Vaisya-Sudra *thirtha,* etc.

Kumaradhara: God Subrahmanya killed Tarakasura in the wars between Devas and Asuras. At the suggestion of his father, God Siva, he took bath in Kumaradhara and he was freed from the sin. Again Narayana, who was contemplating suicide on account of infirmity and poverty, was advised by the Lord to take a bath in this *thirtha* and on doing so, he was blessed with youth and wealth. (Chapters 3, 4 and 5, Markandeya Purana.)

Tumburu Kona. In some previous Yuga, two Rishis, Narada and Thumburu, were travelling all over the world in their celestial cars. Thumburu indulged in the praise of mortals. Suddenly the celestial car fell down to the earth. He bathed in this *thirtha* as a result of which his sin was washed away. The celestial car then rose up and took him back to heaven. (Garuda purana and Chapter 51 of Brahmottara Purana)

Kataha thirtha. This is otherwise called *Thotti thirtha* which is inside the *prakara* of the temple. A sip of this water removes all evil influences and secures success in all undertakings. Though all castes are allowed to touch this *thirtha,* it is not considered polluted. (27th Chapter, Skandapurana.)

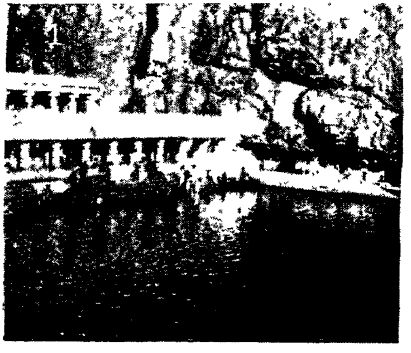
Akasa Ganga. The Lord sent an arrow into the ground and brought the Ganges here. A bath in it removes all sins and secures fulfilment of all desires.

Views of Kapila Thirtham.

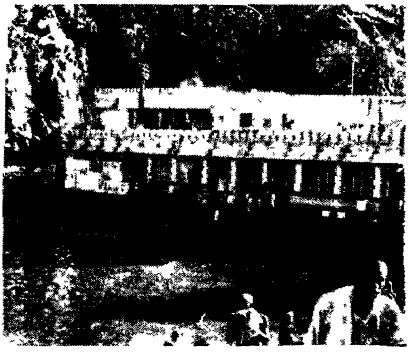


[*Photo by: Mr. V. N. Shama Rao.*

Kapila Thirtham.



1. Sandhyavandana Mantapam.



[*Photo by: Luz Studio.*

2. Kapilesvara's Temple.

Svami Pushkarini. It is not possible to describe adequately the greatness of this sacred *thirtha.* It is believed that in *Dhanurmasa* (Dec.-Jan.) *Suklapaksha-dvadasi,* early in the morning, all the sacred waters of all the sacred places on earth and in heaven, including the waters of the rivers, Ganga, Yamuna, Sarasvati, Kaveri, Godavari, Tungabhadra enter Svami Pushkarini and bathe in it, in order to purify themselves. The efficacy of a bath in this Pushkarini at such a time can easily be imagined. (Vamana Purana, Chapter 30)

Papavinasam. All sins drop off at the very sight of this *thirtha.* A bath in it confers great merit. (Chapter 3, Brahmanda Purana.)

Rasayana Thirtha.—Old persons, even those who have attained the age of hundred years, when they bathe in this *thirtha* become young and do not suffer from old age again. They will attain the strength of several elephants.

About four hundred years ago, an old woman, who had come to the hills on a pilgrimage, was returning from a bath in Kumaradhara; feeling very thirsty on the way she plunged her drinking vessel in this *thirtha* to get some water. On removing it from the water, she found the vessel was changed into gold. The pilgrims who witnessed the miracle were struck with awe and when they attempted to take a bath in it, the waters went underground. Hence it was named Rasayana *thirtha.* (Rasayana = Alchemy.)

Kapiladhara Thirtha. This is situated at the foot of the hills to the south of them and to the north of Tirupati Town. Kapila Maharshi installed a Siva Linga here and was doing penance calling the God, Kapilesvara after his own name. To the west of this *thirtha,* there is the shrine of God Narasimha. In this temple there is a cave. Tondaman used to visit the temple on the hills through a passage from this cave. (Brahmanda Purana, Chapter 7.)

Question 10. Who are the Rishis that performed *tapas* (penance) on these hills and where are their *Asramas* situated?

Answer. Several Yugas ago, king Dasaratha did penance at the foot of the Pipal tree (*Asvatha*) on the banks of Svami Pushkarini for obtaining children. Kumarasvami did penance at Kumaradhara Thirtha. It is said in the puranas that Rishis like Agastya and others obtained their final *siddhis* only after performing *tapas* on these hills (Markandeya Purana, Chapter 2; Vamana Purana, Chapter 22; Varahapurana, Chapter 43.) The Pipal tree under which king Dasaratha performed his penance is still found on the banks of Svami Pushkarini. Kumarasvami

Asrama can be seen at Kumaradhara Thirtha. Agastyasrama is located on the top of Chandragiri hill to the south of Seshachalam. The asramas of Sanaka and Sanandana are within a mile of Papavinasam. The asramas of Sapta Rishis (seven rishis) are situated to the north-east, at a distance of about ten miles from the temple. Besides those mentioned, several other asramas of Rishis are found scattered here and there on the range.

Question 11. Are there any special characteristics also in the animals, birds, trees and plants found on this sacred range?

Answer. Everything that takes birth on these hills, men, animals, plants, insects or anything else attains *Mukti.* It is recorded in the puranas that many Devas, Rishis and spiritually advanced men prefer to be reborn on this range as animals and inanimate objects to secure a surer and quicker means of salvation. This is the difference between the objects found existing on these hills and those found in other places of pilgrimage and hence their claim for being treated with veneration. (Markandeya Purana, Chapter 4; Varahapurana, Chapter 6, Vamana Purana, Chapter 12.)

Question. 12. What Gods have manifested themselves on this range and at which places?

Answer. This range being in the form of Adisesha, Sri Venkatesvara manifests Himself on the portion representing the hood. At the centre of the body of the serpent, represented by Ahobilam, God Narasimha manifested Himself; at the tail represented by Srisailam, God Mahesvara manifested Himself. (Brahmandapurana, Chapter 2; Padmapurana, Chapters 28 to 31.) The three Gods confer earthly prosperity and ensure salvation for Their votaries by the mere *darsan* of Their glorious Divine forms.

Question 13. Why are Mlechchas and Chandalas forbidden from climbing the hills?

Answer. Many Puranas declare that this hill is the personification of Adisesha. Many wise men and sages, therefore, considered it profanation to set foot thereon and that the mere sight of the hill will confer the same merit as the actual *darsan* and worship of God Himself on the hill and built their asrams at the foot of the hills and offered their prayers. This prohibition against climbing the hill does not apply to all Those who had work to do in the temple were allowed to go up the hill after making themselves absolutely clean. The bar as to Mlechchas and Chandalas, goes back to an unknown antiquity and is said to have come into vogue by the desire of Lord Venkatesvara Himself. From actual experience it has been found that if Mlechchas either by accident or design attempted to climb the

hill, they met with some obstruction or obstacles. This is so well-known that to this day Mlechchas do not attempt to ascend the hill. This belief is universally known and followed implicitly.

Question 14. Why do dwellers on the hill suffer from fevers such as Malaria during *Palguna, Chaitra, Vaisakha and Jyeshta* months? (March, April, May and June).

Answer. As the hill is said to be Adisesha himself, great sages say that Adisesha exhales poisonous air during these four months. But a few observers attribute the unhealthiness during these four months to the blasts blowing over flowers of poisonous creepers and shrubs on the hill, which blossom during this period.

Question 15. What rivers rise from these hills? What special sanctity is attached to each one of them? Are they associated with any great sages and if so what particular spots on the banks are considered specially holy on account of their residence?

Answer. A big river, the Svarnamukhi, springs from this hill. According to Skanda Purana, seventh chapter, the Ganges is said to have come down here in this shape. The Svarnamukhi is so called because, this hill, from which it rises is considered to be the golden peak of Mount Meru. Five miles from this hill, is Agastyasrama on the bank of the Svarnamukhi. Agastya worshipped Rudra and installed a Linga and called it Agastyesvara, after his own name. In the middle of the river, a representation of the feet of Rudra is installed. The Puranas declare that ceremonies performed here, have as much potency as those performed at the "*Vishnupadas*" on the banks of the Ganges in Gaya.

About five miles from this hill, on the bank of this sacred river, sage Parasara established an asrama, installed a Linga, calling it Parasaresvara, after his own name and was doing penance. On account of this, several other sages had settled themselves round about the asrama for penance; therefore, the appellation of Yogimallapuram. These details are found not only in Skanda but also in the second chapter of Markandeya Purana; again, within a couple of leagues from this hill to the south of it, on the banks of the Svarnamukhi was the hermitage of the great yogi Sri Suka, the inspirer of the Bhagavatapurana. He installed here the images of Balarama and Krishna and was doing penance. Since then the place was known as Sukapuram. By usage it has now acquired the name of Chiratanur or Tiruchanur (Tiru-Sukanur). Even now the same Balarama and Krishna are fulfilling the desires of the devotees and blessing them with their *darsan* which is obtained easily.

Question 16. What is name of the sacred lake on the bank of the Svarnamukhi and who is its presiding deity?

Answer. The lake is known as "*Padmasarovaram* is situated in the centre of Sukapuram otherwise kı Tiruchanur, on the banks of the Svarnamukhi.

Question. Why is the lake called Padmasarovaram ?

Answer.—Sri Venkatesvara, after his incarnation at tachala, performed a great penance in order to obtain Laks dug up a lake here and placed in it a celestial creeper golden lotuses. He also ınstalled Suryanarayana on the side of the lake so that the lotuses may bloom both day an without fading. In deference to His penance, Lakshmi ma Hereself before Him in a lotus in the centre of the lak lake goes by the name Padmasarovaram since then.

Shrines of Balarama and Krishna are to the north pond ; Padmavati (Lakshmi) was installed to the south thıs lake. (Further details will be given later under questı answers relatıng to Venkatasvara Mahatmyam.)

Question 17. It is stated in the Puranas that Venk took up his abode in Seshachalam several yugas ago. So the greatness of the hıll and the sanctity of the river mukhi have been described but little has been said about Himself. The question is, which aspect among the manifestations of God, does Lord Venkatesvara represent.'

Answer. Sri Venkatesvara is declared to be the God—Srı Maha Vishnu in the following Puranas: Marl Garuda, Brahma, Brahmanda, Varaha, Bhugola Padma, Skanda, Bhavishyottara, Mahabharata and ın the Ascha of Harıvamsa.

Question 18. Which is the real form of Sri Venkates

Answer. Sri Venkatesvara is the embodiment Absolute Effulgence. Further details about this will be f the puranas mentioned previously.

Question 19. With the changes in time were the changes in the form of Lord Venkatesvara ?

Answer. Actually Venkatesvara is in the form of "a Self-Effulgence." To Brahma and others who meditated c in certain ages, the Lord appeared in the form bearing and Chakra. Moreover, the Lord ıs always changing. H is such that He appears to His devotees in the form in wh adore Him. He assumes various shapes and forms suited mysterious purposes of creation. He manifests Himself in forms and in one form.

Question 20. Where did Venkatesvara hail from? Was Lord Venkatesvara brought over here from some other place or did He manifest Himself here directly or was He installed here with any special object?

Answer. Lord Venkatesvara came down from Vaikunta to sport on the hills and to fulfil the desires of Brahma and other Gods and great sages like Vasishta and to give salvation to mankind. That is why this place is known as a "*Svayamvyaktasthala*" (*i.e*, a place where God manifested Himself directly as distinguished from places having man made [sculptured] images of Him. These details are found in the puranas mentioned *supra*).

Question 21. When did this Lord arrive here and to whom did He appear in His divine form?

Answer. The Lord came over here in the twenty-eighth Mahayuga itself and appeared to Brahma and others. In the Kaliyuga, as people's minds are steeped in ignorance He draws them to Himself by force and receives various offerings from them by fulfilling their desires. To some He appears in "*Archarupa*" (the present idol form) and to several others in several forms convincing them of His grace and His sportive mood. This is mentioned in the Varaha, Vamana, Bhavishyottara, Brahma, Brahmanda and Padma puranas.

Question 22. What are the various sacred names of this Lord? Who all worshipped the Lord and what objects had been attained by them?

Answer. The most current names of this Lord are Sri Venkatesvara and Srinivasa. But His names are innumerable. Gods such as Brahma and sages such as Agastya, did great penance to Him and achieved their hearts' desires. King Dasaratha did penance for about ten thousand years and obtained sons. Anjanadevi worshipped Him and begot Anjaneya. Many brahmins and kings worshipped him and attained their objects.

Question 23. After His appearance here what are the various diversions in which He had sported?

Answer. Once upon a time there was a king named Akasaraja who had his capital at Narayanavanam twenty miles from Tirupati. He was desirous of getting children One day while ploughing a field he found a lotus in the middle of which was a baby girl. He was overjoyed and adopted her and named her as Padmavati. In due course Padmavati attained the marriageable age. She was divinely beautiful. Lord Venkatesvara desired to marry her. He took the form of a handsome young man, gracefully attired, mounted a fine horse and entered the grove

where Padmavati was amusing herself with her maids, on th pretext of chasing an elephant. He contrived to preser Himself before Padmavati and by His artfulness made her fa madly in love with Him. Then, He started negotiations fc marrying her, through Vakula, Sri Suka and others. After Hi marriage, He performed many wonderful deeds. This informatio is contained in Bhavishyottara purana, Varaha and other purana In Narayanavanam, in proof of this episode, there still exists shrine dedicated to Kalyana Venkatesvara who exactly resemble the Lord here (on the hills), in the splendour of His divin beauty and grace. During the time of Tondaman Chakravart the brother of Akasaraja, the Lord had worked many amazin wonders.

Question 24. In olden days who all had built mantapas an prakaras for the shrine and who all had improved or renovate them ?

Answer. In the twenty-eighth Mahayuga, in the Kaliyug a king named Sankha Maharaja built the Garbhagriha, gopura mantapas and prakaras. This is stated in 33, 34, 35 and 36t chapters of Vamana purana and referred to in Skanda and othe puranas also. Later on, Tondaman built the main shrine, witl vimana, gopuras, mantapas and prakaras, with the assistance o Brahma and other Gods. In this Kaliyuga, the Chola and th Pandya kings have reconstructed the gopuras, mantapas an prakaras. This information is found in Bhavishyottara and othe puranas.

Question 25. Who is the person who first instituted a festival in the temple, what is the festival and how has it been continued since then ?

Answer. When the Lord appeared first to Brahma on this hill, the latter, initiated the festival of *Brahmotsava* in *Kanya-masa* for a period of nine days, from *Dvajarohana* (flag hoisting) onwards, himself, officiating as the priest. Since then, by his command, celebrations are being conducted, according to the rites prescribed by him, to date, without any break. He further ordained that devotees who arrange for the performance of *Brahmotsava* on ordinary days also would acquire great merit. Accordingly several people pay the prescribed fees and celebrate this *Utsava*. But during such festivals, except *Dvajarohana* and *Avarohana*, every other detail, such as procession of the God on the appointed vehicles (*Vahanas*) is gone through, as in the regular *Brahmotsava*. Complimentary presents are given to devotees who celebrate this festival. Many *bhaktas* (devotees) celebrate *Brahmotsava*. As Brahma initiated this form of festival, it is called *Brahmotsava*. Those who cannot

afford to celebrate the *Brahmotsava,* perform *Garudotsava, Kalyanotsava* and other *Utsavas* according to their means, paying the fees prescribed and enjoy the benefits accruing from such services to the Lord.

Question 26. Did Sri Rama at any time visit this shrine?

Answer. In Kritayuga, Sri Rama camped on this hill for a night along with his monkey horde, on his march to Ravana's kingdom. Then, Hanuman and other monkeys roaming about in the neighbourhood entered into the Vaikunta cave and seeing the splendour of a vision of Lord Srinivasa, came out in wonder and narrated their adventure to Sri Rama; thinking that it did not behove him to admit that it was all due to his own power of *maya,* Sri Rama explained to the monkeys that the wonder was all due to the mountain itself. While returning along with Sita and Lakshmana after killing Ravana, Rama dwelt at Tirupati for sometime. The temple of Kodandaramasvami at Tirupati commemorates this visit. In this temple Sri Rama, Sita and Lakshmana stay in the form of idols and bless their devotees fulfilling their desires. This account is found here and there in several puranas and also in Varahapurana.

Question 27. Which of the various services in the temple initiated by Brahma or the ancient kings are still continued in the manner prescribed by them?

Answer. Lord Venkatesvara lived in the forest before He appeared to Sankha Maharaja. Then, the fourheaded Brahma used to bathe the God in milk every Friday, himself taking the form of a cow and then worship Him performing the various rites. Thereafter, Sankha Maharaja and others performed these services regularly. So also even today this *abhisheka* (bath) with milk is offered every Friday. Other services are, a service called *Pula-kapu* in which a paste made of civet, sandal, saffron and pachakarpuram (refined camphor) is smeared over the Lord; every year *Brahmotsava* is performed in *Kanyamasa.* Besides these, *Brahmotsava, Garudotsava* and *Kalyanotsava* and other *Utsavas* are celebrated whenever devotees arrange for such festivals.

Question 28. What is the reason for the Lord wearing a *Nagabharana,* (serpent ornament) and the rule for worship with *Bilva* leaves?

Answer. In olden days, Agastya and other sages worshipped this Lord as Siva, using the special forms of worship prescribed for Siva. This is stated in the sixtieth chapter of Bhavishyottara purana. Later on, when Tondaman prayed to this Lord to give him victory over his rival in war, it is said, that this Lord lent him his shanka and chakra, and was without these emblems. He was then worshipped as God Subrahmanya; Archana (*worship*)

with bilva *leaves and adornment of the Lord with the* nagabharana *came into vogue since then. Latterly, Sri Ramanuja, who was a follower of Vaishnavism, invested the God with gold emblems denoting shanka and chakra and arranged for worship of the God according to the rites of* Vaikhanasa agama. *It was then ordained by the Lord Himself that* nagabharana *should continue as before and that He should be worshipped with* bilva *leaves during the month of* Margazhi. *Moreover, from time immemorial, it has been declared, that as the shrine is equally sacred to all the three religious sects, there is sanction for all forms of worship on the hill.*

Question 29. Leaving out of account the ornaments offered by Brahma and other Gods, who are the kings, in this age, who endowed the shrine with gifts of ornaments etc. and where have they been secured now?

Answer. After the saka year 1074, from *Prajotpatti*, king Prataparudra of Warangal, reigned for fifty-eight years. He was a famous king. Nine lakhs of bowmen guarded his palace. He ruled from the Narmada to Cape Comorin. Prataparudra offered a *ratna-kavacha* (armour studded with rubies) worth eighteen lakhs of gold mohurs and also performed *Kanakabhisheka* with eighteen lakhs of gold mohurs. This is inscribed on the walls of the second prakara of the temple. Innumerable ornaments offered by several kings must be available. That is why there is the tradition that Lord is the "possessor of a crore of ornaments." As the present era is Kaliyuga when most people are likely to be impious and also on account of certain insurrections within the temple, the treasures are hidden on the path of *Pradakshina* (circumambulation) which is three hundred yards long and forty yards broad. It is closed by doors and rivetted with stones and is not open to public like other places of worship in the temple. Hearing this account, a Tahsildar named Srinivasacharya, attempted to investigate the truth of this tradition. He, however, could not proceed with the work owing to the sudden illness of the men employed for the purpose. He gave it up thinking that it was useless to attempt the task until the Lord Himself directed them to do so. Elders say that several other attempts were made to locate the treasure but on every occasion they met with some obstacle or other.

Question 30. There are ever so many temples in the world; but why is it that so many offerings are made to this Lord only?

Answer. It is said in the Brahmanda purana that the Lord blesses such devotees as propitiate Him with votive offerings, with prosperity, children, good health, victory over enemies and the many good things of life. The Lord through "*Avesa*" con-



[*Photo by: Mr. V. N Shama Rao.*

Papavinasanam Waterfall.



[*Photo by: Luz Studio.*

Akasa Ganga Views.

vinces the devotees of His presence and enforces compliance with the vows taken by them. *There is a tradition handed down by elders, that once upon a time, when Sri Sankaracharya visited the shrine, he installed a 'Yantra' and an "Akarshana Chakra" near the Padmapitam of the God; on that account, valuable gifts are being offered to the shrine.*

Question 31. What is there in the idol of Venkatesvara which is not present in other idols? What are the miraculous happenings within the past one thousand years?

Answer. About eight hundred years ago, a great man, Tirumalai Nambi by name, though very old, due to his great devotion to the Lord, used to go to Papavinasa *thirtha* daily and bring a potful of water for the worship of the Lord. Days passed, when, one day, while he was bringing water for the worship, the Lord intending to test him, appeared before him in disguise and begged him to give a little water pleading great thirst. But the old man declined to give him any. The Lord then drank up all the water in the pot unknown to Nambi, by causing a hole in the pot with an arrow, and then disappeared. Finding that the pot he was bringing was empty Nambi once again proceeded to Papavinasa *thirtha* to fill it. But he had fainted on the way. Then the Lord appeared before him, comforted him and instructed him that in future he may get water from Akasaganga (which is nearer) and then disappeared. Thenceforward water for the worship of the Lord is being got from Akasaganga. The descendants of Nambi are continuing this service to this day. One member of this family was the famous Tirumalai Tatacharya.

Tirumalai Nambi built a mantapa at the spot where the Lord appeared to him and installed the footprints of the Lord in it. There is an inscription near the spot recording this episode. By the grace of the Lord, there has been plentiful and perennial supply of water in Akasaganga and it has not been known to shrink in volume even during the worst drought.

About eight hundred or one thousand years ago, a devotee, named Anantalvar, was showing his piety by supplying flowers for worship. He wanted to have a good supply of water for the flower garden he had raised and was digging a tank after vowing to take no assistance excepting that of his wife. The Lord could not endure the sight of their labouring without help. Disguising himself as a *brahmachari* (bachelor) he was helping them in removing the excavated mud and putting up the bund. Anantalvar when he noticed this, could not tolerate a third party helping in his chosen task for the Lord and threw stones at the *brahmachari.* One of them caught the bachelor on the chin and he immediately disappeared. In the temple, the

archakas who were worshipping the Lord, noticed blood dripping from the chin of the Lord. All were amazed. The Lord through the medium of one of those present (*Avesa*), narrated how he had sustained the injury. Immediately the *archakas* applied *gambura* (refined camphor) powder to that part. Even to this day *gambura* powder is applied to the chin of the image during the daily worship. The tank too exists to this day and is known as Anantalvar tank.

About eight hundred years ago, another devotee named Kuruka Nambi, born in the potter's caste, was engaged in his traditional work of making pots. He set up a picture of the Lord in a portion of his hut and was offering worship to it with lotuses made of mud. The *archakas* of the Lord at Tirumalai, at the time of worship, noticed some lotuses made of mud at the feet of the Lord and were very much amazed. As usual the Lord announced through *Avesa* that he had accepted these mud lotuses from a devotee named Kuruka Nambi. This Nambi built a gopura on the path to the Tirumalai hill and this story is recorded in the inscriptions on the gopura. It is said that his potter's wheel too was seen exhibited on the pathway to the hill for a long time.

About five hundred years ago, a great *bairagi*-chief, named Hattiram Bavaji, belonging to Northern India, learning from his guru that he would be blessed with a vision of the Lord on the Tirumalai hills, came over here at the direction of his guru and built himself an asram to the north of the shrine on the pathway to Papanasanam and Akasaganga at a distance of about twenty-five minutes walk from the shrine. He kept up a "*dhuni*" (a permanent flame burning unceasingly) in front of his asram. He supplied voluntarily the firewood required for preparing *naivedyams* for the Lord taking in return a very small quantity of the *prasadam* of the God just to keep himself alive. Thus he spent twelve years doing penance. The Lord disguising himself varioulsy, now as a Yenadi, now as a Yerukula, and then as a Chenchu, tried to frighten him to test whether he had acquired steadiness of mind. Hattiramji was steadfast in his devotion. The great *bhakta*, piqued at the Lord not favouring him with his *darsan*, despite his hard penance for twelve years, was getting down the hill determined to leave the place for good. In the guise of a brahmin, Lord Venkatesvara followed him and entreated him to remain on the hills but Bavaji would not hear him. The brahmin accompanied him trying to urge him to stay till they came down the hill as far as Avacherikona. Then the Lord out of mercy to His devotee appeared before him in His divine form with both shanka and chakra. Bavaji then prostrated himself before Him and firmly caught hold of the Lord's feet, placing his head on the Lord's feet.

Though the Lord requested him to release his hold he continued to pray appealingly that he should be blessed with the sight of His divine form eternally. The Lord blessed him accordingly and offered to unite him with Himself after his death. Bavaji then went back to the hill with the Lord and remained there ever afterwards as a great devotee of the Lord. It is said that he often played chess with the Lord.

A certain chief of the Devaraya dynasty seeing Hattiram Bavaji told him that his name Hattiram meant an elephant and asked him to prove that he merited the name. The *bhakta*, Hattiram, met the taunt by placing his faith in the Lord. He offered to prove to the king that he was an elephant. He caused an enclosure to be made to accommodate an elephant and such articles as are consumed by elephants to be placed within. Bavaji entered the enclosure in the night and, with the blessings of the Lord, assumed the form of an elephant. At midnight he made the same noise as an elephant at its feed and consumed all articles kept in the enclosure to feed the elephant. In proof of the stay of the animal, there was the excreta of the elephant in the enclosure. At the break of the day he came out of the enclosure in his human form. The chief who saw this miracle appealed in great consternation for mercy and forgiveness. He became ever after a great devotee of the saint. Hattiram spent many years playing dice with the Lord. The Lord advised him to establish a mutt and train a disciple but he did not do so, saying that the did not want anything beyond the service of the Lord. As the advice was repeated several times, he took it as a command, selected a disciple named Giridhara Doss and built a mutt on the elevated ground to the south-east of the temple. He then reported the fact to the Lord and prayed to Him that the hierarchy of disciples who would live in the mutt may be provided with a simple fare consisting of the curry of Sama leaves and *rotis* (chapathis). The Lord was very much pleased at the establishment of the mutt and blessed that ample food and clothes would be provided to the disciples, so long as bells ring in his temple (i. e., so long as worship endures in his own temple). When the devotee asked for a meagre fare the Lord duly blessed him with abundance: such is the love of the Lord to his devotees. One day when Hattiram Bavaji was doing the *pradakshinam* of the temple, the Lord united the spirit of Bavaji with Himself. Bavaji's disciple Giridhara Doss Mahant, according to the custom of his community, laid the remains of his guru in the *dhuni* kept by him. Even now, the place is known as the "*Samadhi*" and daily worship is offered there. In virtue of the boon of the Lord, the two mutts, the one on the hill and the other in Tirupati, have gradually grown in importance and are in a flourishing condition today. Food and provisions are distributed to all *sadhus* and

brahmins. The miracles worked by the Lord are innumerable and none can adequately describe them. Books containing accounts of Tirumalai Nambi and others, written four or five hundred years ago, are still extant. With the rapid advance of Kaliyuga, the Lord has stopped direct conversations with devotees but, still, gives proof of His presence through dreams and through mediums who are temporarily inspired (*Avesam*).

Question. 32. How many full *naivedyams* (food offerings) are being hitherto made to the God daily? How many villages and lands have been endowed for the purpose or are the charges being met from the cash collections?

Answer. This Lord is offered full *naivedyams* sixty times in the course of the day, with the attendant *Karpoora haratis* and *Akhanda Dipārādhanas.* Forty two villages in this neighbourhood, in the Tirupati taluk, have been assigned for this purpose. In addition to this, the then kings used to make munificent contributions for special festivals and celebrations. Moreover, every item of worship without any omission is being done with the amounts contributed by the pilgrims coming here. As a statement of the full details of the villages and the gifts made by the kings and pilgrims will swell this account considerably, only a brief abstract is furnished. These details are recorded in the inscriptions on the temple walls.

Question 33. This Lord has ceased to talk to persons directly but He communicates through dreams and *avesams* (mediums). Again, it is said that people should not wear the flowers which have been used for decorating the Lord and also that except the Lord, no one, while on the hills, should wear flowers and actually this is found in practice now. Are there any reasons for these?

Answer. Long ago, a certain devotee, Ranga Doss by name, was supplying flowers to the Lord. One day he detected a lock of hair in them and was hesitating to offer them to the Lord. Then through *avesam* the Lord directed that from that date no one should wear *tulasi* and flowers on the hills, not even those worn by the Lord and thrown away as *nirmalyam* and that the latter should be put into a well situated in the north-east corner of the Sampangi-Pradakshina. Accordingly, flowers and *tulasi* are not worn by any one while on the hills and also the *nirmalyam* of the Lord is put into the well which has hence acquired the name *Poola-bhavi* (the well of flowers).

Question 34. There are ever so many shrines in the land. Why do all people look on this Lord with such unique devotion and awe?

Answer. Local people or those belonging to other places when they put their trust on this Lord and pray to Him fervently, He unfailingly grants their wishes; besides, when they make vows to Him and inadvertently forget them, He immediately reminds them by appearing in their dreams or through *avesam* and exacts the fulfilment of the vows. If however, in spite of such warnings the vows remain unfulfilled, the person gets some unexpected trouble, which is relieved immediately on the vow being fulfilled and their faith in the Lord is thus reinforced. By such and various other *leelas* (plays) with His devotees He keeps their faith in Him strong and abiding. Such experiences are not had in other shrines. Hence this shrine enjoys pre-eminence in the estimation of the people.

Question 35. What is the reason for paying an amount equal in value to presents made to the Lord, such as ornaments, garments, vahanas, cows, etc.?

Answer. As the Lord is the fulfiller of the desires of all persons, it has been directed by the Lord Himself. There is the precedent of King Prataparudra paying a fee of eighteen lakhs of mohurs along with his presents of equal value. Recent governments have followed the precedent and levied taxes in order to pay the temple the fees. So great is the *hauteur* of the place that such levies are being paid to this day without question.

Question 36. What are the original sources for the Venkatachala Mahatmyam?

Answer. It is said in the Upanishads that this Lord is the all pervading Vishnu present in Vaikunta, on the earth and everywhere. In the Taittiriyopanishad, in the fifth parva, called '*Narayanam*', it is stated that the Lord shines at the farther end of the water, in the middle of this earthly region, and that He makes the other elements shine through His own light. This is quoted from the commentary of Vidyaranya on the said Upanishad. In the eighteen puranas, including the Mahabharata, the sanctity of this shrine has been recorded. It is said that the inscriptions on the temple walls also give such details.

Question 37. When and by whom was Sri Govindarajasvami installed at Tirupati and who built the temple and compound walls?

Answer. Sri Govindarajasvami originally manifested Himself at Chitrakuta (Chidambaram), a place of puranic fame. Later on, owing to some local disturbances, the place was deserted. About five or six hundred years ago, Sri Ramanujacharya (the famous advocate of Vaishnavism) brought the idol to Tirupati and installed it in the present place. He also provided

the processional images and consecrated them. The kings of the Yadava dynasty, who held sway over this country from Saka 756 (834 A. D.), constructed the temple, gopuras and prakaras (compound walls). Subsequently, about three hundred years ago, Anantha, a chief of Matla family, built the big entrance gopura and excavated the two "*Buggas*" (artesian wells or fountains), within and outside the walls of this gopura. Later, another chief of the same dynasty, Appayaraju and his Diwan, Musalayya Naidu, renovated the old car but after some time the condition of the car deteriorated. The estate of the Matla chief was also annexed by the Company (East India Company).

Question 38. Who installed Kodandaramasvami at Tirupati at first and who built the temple, the towers and the compound walls?

Answer. The traditional account is that in the sixty-fourth year of this Kaliyuga, King Janamejaya, who was ruling the country, found the temple in ruins and renovated it, building the main shrine, the tower and the compound walls, reinstalling the images of the Gods. The kings of the Yadava dynasty who came into power from the Saka year 756, reconstructed the temple with mantapas, prakaras and gopuras.

Question 39. When and by whom was the Goddess installed at Sukapuri, otherwise called Chirtanuru or Tiruchanur?

Answer. Once, the great sage Bhrigu, intending to test the *Tirumurtis,* went to Vaikunta and Sri Vishnu was reclining on his serpent coach with Lakshmi by his side. Bhrigu kicked at the chest of the Lord with his foot. Vishnu got up, showed great humility and expressed regret for the pain caused to the sage by his foot coming into contact with the hard surface of his chest. On the pretext of relieving the pain by massaging the foot, He (Lord) put out the eye which the sage possessed in his foot. Goddess Lakshmi noticing that the Lord was humbling Himself and rendering service to a man who had the effrontery to kick at the place of Her abode, got enraged and parted from Vishnu and hid Herself at Kolhapur. The Lord unable to endure the pangs of separation went in search of Her and reached Kolhapur, which is situated at a distance of about fifty yojanas from Seshachalam He could not find Her there and was in consequence very much distressed. Then, a voice from the sky directed Him that five miles to the south of the Seshachalam (which was to the north of Kolhapur) there was a village Sukapuri, on the banks of the Svarnamukhi river, and that He should go there, excavate a lake with His *Gadayudha,* obtain and nurse in the lake, the lotus creeper of the celestial regions which yields golden lotuses and instal the Sun God to the east of the lake so as

to keep the lotuses always in bloom and then engage Himself in penance, when, the voice declared, Goddess Lakshmi would appear before Him. Lord Vishnu accordingly proceeded to the place, dug a lake, introduced the divine lotus creeper in it, installed Suryanarayana on the bank and engaged Himself in penance. To the intense joy of the Lord, the Goddess appeared before Him in a lotus in the middle of the lake. He then built a shrine for Her to the north of the temple where Sri Suka had installed Balarama and Krishna for his worship and settled the Goddess in it under the name of Padmavati. He instituted an annual festival called *Avabhyatottsavam* on a *Panchami* day, the Lord Himself paying Her a state visit in due form from the hills, bringing with Him presents of garlands, sarees, blouses, pan, turmeric, *kunkum* and *panniyarams*, (articles priced by married women as auspicious gifts). Since then, a *Brahmotsavam* festival is being conducted annually in the month of *Karthigai*, the *Dvajarohanam* commencing eight days prior to *Panchami* and ending with *Avabhridotsavam* The festival is widely known as the *Chirtanur Panchami* festival. About two hundred years ago, the Rajahs of Karvetnagar, reconstructed the lake and arranged for some special services. About one hundred years ago, one Sri Narayana Pillai of Madras and a few others constructed stone steps leading to the lake.

Details regarding the origin of the image of the Goddess and other matters connected with the shrine are found in the thirty-fourth chapter of Sri Padmapurana. By the grace of Lord Venkatesvara, since then, the temple of the Goddess has been considerably enlarged by the construction of additional mantapas, etc., and the services to Her are being performed with ever increasing magnificence and splendour by Her own devotees and of Venkatesvara.

Question 40. Are there any remarkable features in the Goddess, such as those of Lord Venkatesvara? Do pilgrims who visit Sri Venkatesvara on the hills visit this temple also and offer similar kinds of services and gifts?

Answer. By virtue of Lord Venkatesvara's grace abiding in Her, great powers are manifested by Padmavati also. As evidence of this, it is seen that large crowds of people, both men and women, throng to this shrine on Fridays and offer special worship and Taligais (food offerings), in order to obtain their objects. Those who pray for children are blessed with children. Persons possessed by evil spirits and Grahas, such as Sakini and Dakini and praying for relief from them, obtain relief. Those who have lost their sight and even the lame, put absolute faith in the Goddess and do Pradakshinams and Namaskarams to Her for

some period. They get back their sight and limbs. Her grace shines in proportion to the intensity of the faith and devotion of each worshipper. All pilgrims who visit the God on the hills, invariably visit the Goddess also and make presents of garments, jewels, taligais and also contribute according to their means for special utsavams, such as Garuda Vahanam, Elephant Vahanam etc. Further, people from Tirupati and the surrounding localities, take vows and visit the shrine on Fridays, bathe in the lake, do Pradakshinam and make offerings of food, lights, cloths and jewels. Several people from various places pay the prescribed fees and arrange for burning daily Akhandams before the Goddess and for daily performance of Tulasi and Kunkum Archanas according to the prescribed rites. Therefore there is basis for thinking that great powers abide also in Goddess

SRI PADMAVATI.